

Mediatory efforts underway amidst fierce clashes in Kabul

KABUL, Feb. 12: At a time when clashes are continuing between the Defence Ministry forces and the hardline Hizb-i-Islami of Gulbadin Hekmatyar, mediatory efforts, both internal and external, have been made to bring normalcy to the rocket-ridden Kabul City and effect a ceasefire between the warring sides.

The Afghan capital, which remained under heavy rocket and artillery shelling for last three weeks, remained calm over the past two days with only sporadic firing heard in the southern and south-eastern vicinity of the city. The citizens came out of their homes to purchase eatables and fuel which are already very scarce and sold on very high prices due to non-supply of commodities to the capital caused by the road blockades by the opposition groups. A government spokesman told newsmen last evening that the Defence Ministry forces will continue their "mopping up" operations to force back the rebel forces and eliminate their rocket stations.

He said that the fighting would continue until Gulbadin Hekmatyar's forces lay down their arms and surrender to the government forces. However, the hardline Hizb-i-Islami forces do not seem to yield to the government pressure and they, besides their continuing offensives on government military installations, are firm on

their oft-repeated demand for the removal of President Rabbani's government, which they say is illegal and un-constitutional.

Meanwhile, the chief of the Afghan Peace Committee and President of the Harakat-i-Islami of Afghanistan, Sheikh Asif Mohsini and an independent religious personality, Maulvi Ahmad Ali Jibraili are continuing their mediatory efforts and have held talks with representatives of both the sides. Both the religious personalities told a group of journalists that though the demands of both the warring sides were not yet in conformity with each other's but they are confident that a patch up will be effected. The Harakat-i-Islami chief, Maulvi Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi was also scheduled to visit Kabul but he suspended his visit due to the assassination of his party's Deputy Chief and Paktya Governor, Maulana Nasrullah Mansoor along with his five body guards and an eminent commander from Logar province. Sheikh Asif Mohsini and Maulvi Mohammadi were deputed by the Jalalabad meeting of the six Mujahideen parties recently to shuttle between the hostile mujahideen faction and bring peace before, what the meeting observed, waging of efforts for installing a legal and representative government in Kabul. The meeting had also insisted on

continuously holding meetings of the Leadership Council because, it said, the Shoor-e-Hal-o-Aqd, which elected President Rabbani, was not a valid one. However, a spokesman of President Rabbani, Syed Noorullah Emad has responded that the Leadership Council has 'naturally dissolved following the meeting of the Shoor-e-Hal-o-Aqd, adding that the legal position of President Rabbani cannot be questioned. And this very stance of the government circle is the main hurdle in ending of hostilities and restoration of peace in Kabul because six out of the nine Mujahideen groups have outrightly rejected the Shoor-e-Hal-o-Aqd.

The government of Iran, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia have also initiated efforts for restoration of peace in Kabul but prospects of any rapprochement between the belligerent sides do not seem bright for the moment since both the groups are adamant on their irreconcilable positions. The Saudi monarch, King Fahd has extended an offer of hosting a meeting of all the Mujahideen organisations and all of them have accepted the offer but there too, the main question is that in what capacity, President Rabbani will attend the meeting.

The government sources say that Professor Rabbani will represent the government of Afghanistan at the meeting while the Mujahideen

groups demand that he should participate in his capacity of the Jamiat-i-Islami chief only. Iran has also extended a similar proposal, suggesting however, that no solution should be imposed on the Afghans from outside and they be helped only to settle their mutual difference themselves.

From the Pakistan side, the former chief of the military intelligence General (Retd.) Hameed Gul is visiting Afghanistan and he is more than hopeful for bringing about peace among the warring sides. He held two rounds of talks with the government officials, including President Rabbani and the Ittehad-i-Islami chief and the country's Vice-President, Prof. Abdur Rab Rasool Sayyaf and is in contact with the Hizb-i-Islami leaders. To substantiate his resolute optimism, General (Retd.) Hameed Gul said that he might achieve better results out of his peace mission, since he has been invited by people from both the warring sides to mediate between them. This claim is further augmented by the fact that the unending cross firing and heavy shelling was stopped by both the sides during the stay of the former Pakistani General in Kabul over the past two days. However, these hopes were shrouded with scepticism and suspicions when a round of heavy shelling resumed in the heights of south-western Kabul.

PPA. 2/12

Steps to rehabilitate new Afghan refugees taken

P.T. Bureau

PESHAWAR, Feb. 5: Ways and means were today devised for the rehabilitation of about 72,000 fresh Afghan refugees.

A meeting of the engaged in humanitarian assistance to Afghan refugees was held at the Afghan Commissionerate, this morning under the chairmanship of Mr A.K. Safi. Additional Commissioner to devise ways and means for rehabilitation of about 72,000 fresh Afghan refugees.

The Additional Commissioner

informed the meeting that the newly-arrived refugees needed immediate relief assistance and the Commissionerate had taken steps to mitigate their sufferings.

Some of the refugees, he said, have been accommodated in Hursan and Aza Khel refugees camp while those reluctant to join camps were living in six localities around Peshawar, either in the rented houses or with their friends and relatives.

A distribution point had been established in Kaila Garhi camp where 10 kg wheat and 500 grams

of edible oil per person per month is being given to them. However, they needed more food. He urged the NGOs to donate generously. This humanitarian cause to help the Commissionerate overcome the problem of fresh refugees influx.

The representatives of NGOs presented practicable suggestions in connection with refugees relief assistance and held out an assistance that they would extend all possible assistance within the ambit of their recourse shortly

Afghan Defence Minister greets Gen. Waheed

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 28: The Afghan Defence Minister, General Ahmad Shah Masood has congratulated Gen Waheed Khan on his appointment as Chief of the Army Staff (COAS).

In a message Afghanistan's Defence Minister has also extended sincere felicitation on behalf of the army of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to Gen Waheed.—APP. 1/23

4 officials killed near Jalalabad:
Indian diplomat killed in Kabul

UN mission into Afghanistan suspended

PT MONITORING

The United Nations has suspended its cross-border mission into Afghanistan, following the killing of four UN workers near the eastern city of Jalalabad, reports BBC.

The four men had been travelling from Peshawar when armed men opened fire on their vehicles. UN Secretary General Mr. Boutros Ghali has expressed deep shock over what he called, a brutal murder.

In an interview with the BBC, a UN spokesman said the organisation's Pakistan based personnel would not be conducting any more missions into areas in Afghanistan, where its staff were at risk. These include a number of regularly used routes.

A BBC correspondent in Quetta said the suspension of these trips would have a drastic effect on UN aid programme in Afghanistan as most projects are coordinated and monitored from across the border.

The Governor of Nangahar, where the killing took place, Haji Qadeer told visiting senior UN officials that several suspects had already been arrested.

Four members of UN relief team including a British and Dutch were killed when three armed men, in an ambush, attacked them in Jalalabad today while they were coming from Peshawar.

Two other deceased were the Afghan drivers of the vehicles, while another person, a high official of UN High Commission for Refugees, had a narrow escape.

The Radio further said that assailants could not be identified.

Meanwhile, Deputy Secretary General of UN has condemned the incidents and demanded of the Afghanistan Government to investigate it and take maximum security steps for UN relief workers, the radio said.

Sharply reacting over the incident, a spokesman of UN High Commission in Kabul, said that a

fresh review would be taken in the relief work in Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, Afghan Government also condemned the incident. An official spokesman, terming the incident as "criminal act" said that all-out efforts would be made to trace out the culprits, the BBC added.

Heavy bombardment continues in and around Kabul and according to latest report rockets landed in the centre of the city killing an official of Indian High Commission there, reports BBC.

The Defence Minister Mr. Ahmed Shah Masood has said that he wants a permanent ceasefire with forces loyal to Mr. Gulbadin Hikmatyar. In an exclusive interview with the BBC he said, that there was no sign of negotiations to achieve the goal.

Radio Teheran speaks of fierce bombardment from both sides. It says that a missile hit the Iranian Embassy in Kabul. Damage caused to the Embassy by this attack could not be ascertained. According to unconfirmed reports Hizb-i-Islami forces shot down a military helicopter with 29 persons on board. All of them were killed.

2/13

HI rules eastern limits of Kabul

CHARASAIB, (Afghanistan), Jan. 14: Afghan faction Hezb-Islamic rule begins here on the eastern limits of Kabul at the foot of the government's strategic security post, the citadel of Bala Hissar.

Barely 20 metres separate government security forces and Gulbaddin Hikmatyar's ethnic Pashtun mujahideen, but they are a gulf apart in behaviour.

The principal opponent of the Kabul government, Hikmatyar is held responsible for the indiscriminate bombardment of Kabul. Yet his front-line soldiers are scrupulously polite to foreign visitors, whereas government troops from northern Afghanistan are expert practitioners of petty larceny.

Travel to Hikmatyar's military headquarters 25 kilometres south of the capital at Charasaib, is a remarkably simple procedure. You just get in your car and drive.

There are two or three checkpoints along the way, but no special papers are required.

At Bini Hissar, a small village a few minutes drive from Bala Hissar, there is a Hezb-sponsored bazaar selling consumer goods at prices cheaper than in Kabul.

The idea is to attract Kabul people here to buy thereby undermining the government's authority. However, the light-fingered defence ministry forces at Bala Hissar frighten away most potential customers.

A Russian-made T-62 battle-tank inscribed with verses from the Holy Quran is parked in the main street, but no other overt signs of military preparedness are apparent.

On the snow-mantled plateau outside Bini Hissar, a tarpaulin draped over a Chinese-made 12-barrelled rocket launcher and stacks of olive-green missiles have been placed nearby, but their crew are nowhere to be seen.

Charasaib seems to be a string of connected villages made up of houses with typical high walls enclosing the family compounds, but there is definitely no siege

mentality at Hikmatyar's base. There is not even a security check post until you turn off the main road and drive up to the army garrison, where two ancient cannons support the guards manning a barrier across the road.

A green banner on the guardhouse declares, "we are not going to accept anything less than an Islamic government in Afghanistan." — AFP.

1/14

FOOD SCARCE

No rocket or artillery fire was heard overnight or on Sunday morning and residents took advantage of the lull to venture out to stock up on scarce provisions.

Food and fuel are in extremely short supply in the capital, and the United Nations says it has succeeded in supplying only one per cent of the capital's food needs.

2/15

Efforts to end Afghan crises intensified

ISLAMABAD, Feb 12 Efforts for peaceful solution of the Afghan fighting between rival groups have increased and a special representative of the Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani, Dr Abdul Hayee has reached Teheran to discuss the latest situation in Afghanistan with Iranian President Hashmi Rafsanjani, Foreign Minister, Ali Akbar Velayati and seek a solution for the settlement of internal crisis of Afghanistan.

Soon after his arrival in Teheran, Dr Abdul Hayee Called on Foreign Minister Dr Velayati and apprised him about the latest situation in Afghanistan as well as the problems which the present Afghan Government was facing.

Meanwhile, Commander of the powerful Jozjan Militia, Gen Abdul Rashid Dostam has accepted the offer of the post of Deputy Defence Minister, extended to him by President Burhanuddin Rabbani several days back.

Disclosing this to a group of foreign journalists in Kabul today, a spokesman of the Uzbek general, presently based in the northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif, said Gen. Dostam has accepted the offer of the government subject to certain conditions which include immediate cessation of firing among the rival mujahideen groups and raising a united national army.

Pak emissaries

The Pakistani personalities who have come to Kabul including Gen Hameed Gul and Mr Ijazul Haq have held talks with President Rabbani and the Defence Minister Ahmad Shah Masood.

They discussed matters of bilateral interests. They also held talks with Prof Sayyaf and Sh Asif Mohsin.

A spokesman of the Afghan Government told Bakhtar News Agency that the Islamic government appreciates and welcomes any effort by the friendly and neighbouring countries for the restoration of peace in Afghanistan but it urges the need for surrendering the rocket installations of Gulbadin Hikmatyar to the defence ministry or the committee proposed by the government for the purpose.

The Naib Amir of Jamaat-i-Islami, Prof Khurshid Ahmad has expressed grave concern over the alleged arrival of foreign commandos in Peshawar which, he said, was aimed at creating disturbance in Afghanistan and carrying out operations against certain Afghan leaders.

2/13

THE TROUBLE WITH AFGHANISTAN

by Thomas Gouttierre

After nearly 15 years of war and strife, there are distressingly few indicators that stability is within Afghanistan's grasp. The most optimistic observers of Afghan politics and society find it difficult to make even long-term prognoses for a stable government in Kabul.

Conditions in Afghanistan today are roughly analogous to those which existed more than a century ago: the nation is divided by regional interests and power centers; it is badly in need of credible and stable leadership; it is less developed than its neighbors; and competing external forces are seeking to advance their agendas by playing various Afghan sectors off one another.

The nation's problems are compounded by other factors that make the creation of a stable society seem insurmountable. A decade and a half of war has destroyed most of the development tortuously achieved in the preceding century. The legacy of that war is large caches of portable and relatively sophisticated weaponry which remain in the hands of competing forces.

An environment exists in Afghanistan wherein many of the traditional elements of social stability and resiliency have been shunted aside. A massive drug trafficking industry, created during the war, seeks to subvert institutions which could restrict its operations.

Millions of Afghans who spent the last decade as refugees outside their country still need to be repatriated. Many will never return, part of a brain drain to the West of many of Afghanistan's most able and highly trained citizens.

A hundred years ago Afghanistan had Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, a strong, visionary, and resourceful leader, as the head of the government in Kabul. There appears to be no such individual in the pantheon of potential political players competing for control of Kabul today. Kabul, three times its pre-war size, is no longer the calm center that offered mediation, refuge, and hope.

The ruling council set up in Kabul in the days following the fall of Najeeb is in disarray. Many of the individuals who were major players in Peshawar Mujahideen politics, and who are likely to encourage or subvert consensus



among Afghans, are not taking an active or supportive role. While these party leaders remain influential in the political mix, many of their followers have become disenchanted.

Each of the various ministries is controlled by different parties; some function, others do not. The most powerful groups in Kabul retain their arms and control over various sections of the city; none, including Ahmad Shah Masood and Rasheed Doostam, exercises the authority necessary to place Kabul under unified command without risking massive destruction and loss of life.

External forces from Iran continue to materially and politically support Hizbi Wahdat in the assertion of a Shia agenda; likewise, Wahabi resources continue to flow in support of Tasool Sayyaf's command centers in both Peshawar and Paghman. Indications are very strong that Gulbudeen Hikmatyar still receives aid from elements of the Ikhwaan el-Muslimeen directly and through channels of the Jamaati Islami of Pakistan.

With this uncertainty and the eruption of battles in Kabul, a new wave of refugees is headed for the provinces and Pakistan, even as others are returning from years of refuge. This exodus is predicated on different political concerns, but the issue of security remains paramount. The number of refugees is likely to increase rapidly unless the battles subside and the government of Kabul develops an aura of credibility and stability.

Is it reasonable to expect a stable government in Kabul that has effective and credible working relations with regional power centers? Afghanistan never went through a period as turbulent as its recent past. Yet there are some historical facts that do provide insight about Afghan political expectations.

Afghanistan has enjoyed stability at the top of its governments only un-

der autocratic leaders. The most notable of these were Amir Abdur Rahman and prime minister and regent, Hashim Khan. Afghans remember them as effective rulers, but have never forgiven them for their perceived cruelty. In the last 150 years, Abdur Rahman is the only king or president who was not displaced by a coup or assassination.

Except when embroiled in power struggles for control of Kabul, the local and regional levels have generally been stable both during periods of dependence upon and independence from the central government. An exception to this - the uprising led by Habeebullah Ghazi in 1929 - was so notable that it remains to this day just that - an exception.

Afghans expect their governments to keep order. Periods of strife are relatively uncommon. Even now, Afghans will not forgive the loss of lives in the demonstration on the Third of Aqrah of 1965 (three to six persons) and the military action taken by Prime Minister Sardar Daoud in Qandahar in 1959 (up to 20 lives). Contrast these figures with those run up daily in countries neighboring Afghanistan.

Afghans expect their government to serve as credible mediator in the defusing of micro-nationalist strife due to religion, race, language, and other issues. When Daoud and his minister of education, Ali Ahmad Popal, sought to impose greater use of Pashto in schools and official circles, the policy was short-lived and was seen as divisive by Afghans of all language groups.

In the past, Afghan society has been among Asia's most tolerant. Contrary to popular myth, Afghans are not xenophobic and do not engage in wars of race and religious. They expect their leaders to be tolerant. Sahir Shah is remembered by all, even those who thought him ineffective, as a tolerant person under whom "no Afghan died in prison." Today, there is little grassroots support for those considered intolerant, such as Hikmatyar and Sayyaf.

While history shows that Afghans have experienced little stability in their governments, history also suggests that a stable society is a reasonable expectation. Afghans are resolute and remarkable survivors; they have a way of muddling through, even in the face of all expectations to the contrary. They drove the Soviet armies from Afghan soil in a war in which they were overwhelming underdogs.

There are additional factors on the

side of the Afghans at this juncture. The political process in Kabul, however flawed, remains in force. As long as this process remains engaged, the prospect remains alive that credible elections will be held for the purpose of setting Afghanistan's future course. The provinces remain relatively calm; and in certain areas of the north and west there are effective local administrative units and services.

Channels of assistance remain open that were established by those who supported the Afghans in their war against the U.S.S.R. Health, education, and manpower training activities in the provinces continue uninterrupted. Modest assistance programs have started up in Kabul.

Though Afghanistan has experienced an unprecedented brain drain, all is not bleak in this area. There is a large sector of trained personnel in Kabul, individuals often referred to as Kabulis, who continue to staff the bureaucracy and other offices. Additionally, a substantial number of Afghans within the Mujahideen circles had excellent training and experience over the past decade.

Afghans are tired of fighting and in-fighting. There is little support for the power struggles being waged by various groups and individuals even among their followers. Attempts by Hikmatyar and others to reconstitute their personal power struggles on a racial (Pashtoon vs. Farsiwan) basis have not been successful. These remain as struggles of group or personal

ambition; the most important are stimulated and supported by external forces.

There are a number of things the United States could do to assist Afghanistan in the pursuit of a stable government and society. First, it could provide leadership in multi-national efforts to provide assistance in the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Such assistance should be targeted to strengthen the traditional and more tolerant sectors of Afghan society. If the United States does not assume a visible role, experience shows no meaningful effort is likely.

The United States should support a reconstruction assistance policy that benefits the provinces and at the same time strengthens the stability and infrastructure of the government of Kabul. Decentralization at levels higher than in the past is likely necessary.

A reasonable and rational policy concerning the question of certification of Afghanistan on drug trafficking should be established. Restricting aid to Afghanistan at this stage creates a catch-22 situation. In order to wage war against drug trafficking, the Kabul government needs to be strengthened. If it remains unstable with a weak infrastructure, how can it move against drugs?

Finally, the Afghan people need all the positive support and encouragement they can obtain. Afghans are often the butt of condescending and erroneous comments, particularly in

the media, about how they have always fought each other, how they can never pull together to achieve the necessary. How many other nations have gone through trauma at the levels the Afghans have experienced these past 15 years? Afghanistan needs a Marshall Plan of material assistance and moral support.

The author is director of the Center for Afghanistan Studies and Programs and dean of international studies at the University of Nebraska and Medical Center at Omaha. He speaks and publishes widely on Afghan issues, and is the U.S. specialist on Afghanistan to the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Regional Conflicts Task Force. He lived for 10 years in Afghanistan as a Peace Corps volunteer, Fulbright scholar and program director and was a founding member of the National Council of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers.

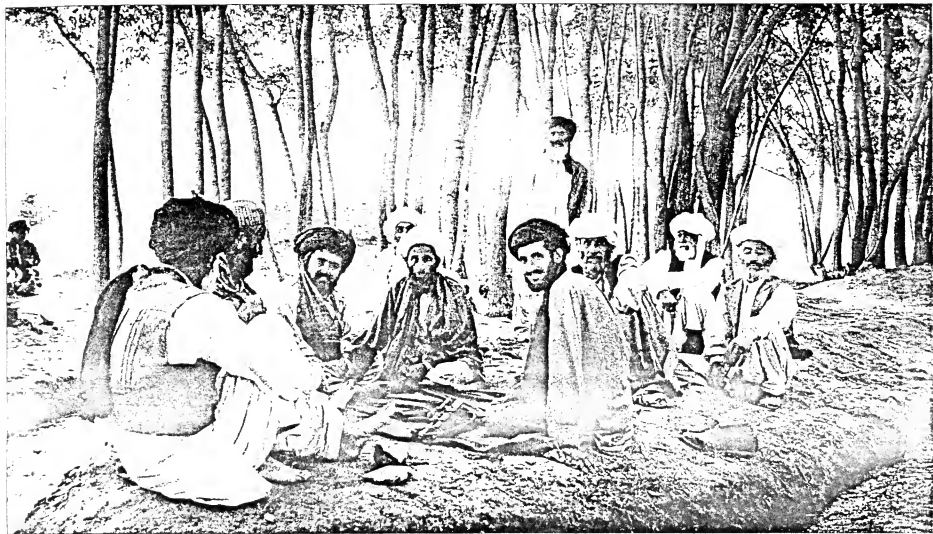
World View Magazine

Winter 1993

On power and popularity

■ "You know you're out of power when your limousine is yellow and your driver speaks Farsi." — **James A. Baker III**, former secretary of state, at a recent Washington dinner, quoted in *Newsweek*.

Asbury Park Press 3/5



Sergei Isakovitch and Vladimir

Afghanistan, Always Riven, Is Breaking Into Ethnic Parts

By EDWARD A. GARGAN
Special to The New York Times

MAZAR-I-SHARIF, Afghanistan. Jan. 13 — In a country riven by ethnic, religious and linguistic conflicts, Afghanistan's unity has always been precariously forged. Now, with the appearance of powerful regional leaders and the enfeeblement of the Government in Kabul, the partitioning of the country into three autonomous territories is becoming a fact of life.

The disintegration of the country is evident in this northern city, where a former militia leader backed by two of Afghanistan's many ethnic groups controls the nation's strongest military force and is establishing virtually a separate state. The Uzbeks and Tajiks who support him make up about one-third of Afghanistan's 16.5 million people.

Competition for Influence

A second region, in the south and the east, is inhabited mainly by Pathans, who form nearly half of the country's population and who have traditionally dominated Afghan politics. That area includes the capital, Kabul. In the west is a territory controlled largely by Afghans with close ethnic ties to Iran and open to Iranian influence.

Several diplomats in Islamabad, the capital of neighboring Pakistan, said they regarded the fragmentation of Afghanistan as essentially completed.

Because of its location and its ethnic and religious links to many countries in the region, including the former Soviet republics of Central Asia, Afghanistan, long a cold war battleground, is now the object of a competition for influence among Iran, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Events here can also affect the stability of some of the emerging Central Asian republics, analysts say.

Markets Are Full

Since the overthrow of of President Najibullah in April, after nearly 14 years of civil war against a succession of Soviet-backed Governments, a disparate group of guerrilla factions and warlords have fitfully tried to forge a stable central government. But ethnic and religious rivalries, personal animosities and a welter of uncompromising ambitions have wrecked those efforts.

Unlike Kabul, which is reeling under rocket attacks from dissident guerrilla leaders, severe food shortages and the absence of electricity, in this city the markets are full, electricity pulses

through a scattering of power lines and, most important, there is peace.

This is the base of Gen. Abdul Rashid Doestam, a former Communist militia leader whose sudden turn of heart last year helped bring down the Najibullah Government.

General Doestam, an ethnic Uzbek who leads the grandly named National Coalition of the North and who commands the most powerful military force in Afghanistan, has issued an ultimatum to the fragile Government in Kabul demanding posts in the Cabinet and a sharp rollback of Islamic fundamentalism if national unity is to be achieved.

"We will not budge one inch from our proposals," General Doestam said in a meeting with a few reporters in the vast mud-walled fortress he uses as his headquarters on the outskirts of town. But, he added, if after one month his demands are not met by the Kabul Government, he is perfectly prepared to go it alone in the north.

"We try to be self-sufficient," he said. "We try to earn our own income. We have agricultural lands."

At the airport here, along the single runway beneath the foothills of the Hindu Kush, the general has assembled much of what is left of the old Afghan Air Force, a stately collection of MIG-21's and cargo aircraft. And around his mud fort, a vast compound surrounded by crenelated other earthen walls, sit endless ranks of Soviet-made tanks, the remnants of the old army of the Communist Government.

Some Boycotted Meeting

After a show of force in December by General Doestam's forces against the titular President, Burhanuddin Rabbani, an assembly of all the factions was called. But five of the nine major groups boycotted the meeting and Mr. Rabbani stacked the gathering with delegates loyal to him. The assembly chose Mr. Rabbani as the country's President.

But Mr. Rabbani's formal accession to the presidency has not even given him authority over all of Kabul. Much of the west of the capital is controlled by a dissident guerrilla faction, Hezb-i-Wahadat, a group composed primarily of the Iranian-backed western Hazara minority. Sporadic clashes between Mr. Rabbani's forces and Wahadat soldiers have broken out this month.

General Doestam expressed disdain for the results of the assembly held last month in Kabul.

"The Government is so limited there," he said. "It is not a Government of all Afghans."

Indeed, Mr. Rabbani's Government exists in little more than name, with his authority confined to a few sections of the capital and stretching barely into the surrounding countryside.



Herat, Mazar-i-Sharif and Kabul are shaping into regional power centers in a fragmented country.

Mr. Rabbani, an ethnic Tajik, and the people around him have tried to lay claim to the loyalty of Pathans, who predominate in the region. But other guerrilla leaders, particularly the strictly fundamentalist Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the leader of the Hezb-i-Islami faction, also fight under the flag of Pathan nationalism.

Another Government

In the country's other power center, Herat, the heart of Afghanistan's Shiite Muslim community and a region where Iran is intent upon asserting its influence, a functioning government composed of local elders and militia commanders has assumed control.

General Doestam's continued role in Afghan politics has angered some of the more fundamentalist guerrilla leaders, who say his association with the former Communist Government marks him as a traitor to Islam.

Mr. Hekmatyar has repeatedly attacked the capital with rockets because of the presence of some of the general's forces in the city. He has said that General Doestam's association with the old Government made him ineligible for any position in an Islamic Afghanistan.

For his part, General Doestam has solidified his control over the country's north and has assumed the title of president.

"I call myself president and military head of the shura," he said, referring to the collective leadership. He has visited Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, where he held talks with government leaders, and he indicated that he hoped to be able to meet representatives of Western governments, particularly from the United States.

In a move that may have appeared quixotic in Little Rock, Ark., but which reflected his stature in northern Afghanistan and perhaps his shrewdness, General Doestam sent a message of congratulations to Bill Clinton after his election victory. It was not lost on diplomats in the region that messages of these sort are traditionally sent by heads of state.

Shaping His Policies

Slowly, the general is shaping the policies that he hopes will prevail in the north. Indeed, he said, the northern government that he is building will be

quite different from the Islamic fundamentalist state envisioned by Mr. Rabbani and other factions in Kabul.

"Implementing those kind of laws is almost out of the question," the general said. "If he is really serious about these laws of Islam, then all intellectuals will flee Afghanistan. Nobody could stand to stay here. In Kabul, the technocrats and most young people and broad minded people are supporting the north. Whenever there is a problem in Kabul, people are escaping and coming to the north."

A rudimentary civil apparatus is functioning here. Schools are open and classes are being held in the local university. Customs duties are levied on all goods passing over the bridge from Uzbekistan at Heratyn, and efforts are being made to rebuild a public works department. Around Mazar-i-Sharif, road crews were repairing the cracked and rutted asphalt that forms most of this town's streets.

A United Nations official who travels often here said the northern region was often here assuming the character of a separate state.

"He's got consulates," this official said, referring to Iranian and Uzbek diplomatic missions. "He's got the United Nations, the Red Cross, tractors, farming, the buses are running, taxis, electricity, new construction. None of this is in Kabul."

NXT 1/17

Iran Could Gain Ex-Soviet Land

To the Editor:

Re "Afghanistan, Always Riven, Is Breaking Into Ethnic Parts" (front page, Jan. 17): While you mention Iran's intention to assert its influence in a fragmented Afghanistan, as one who studied Afghanistan closely at Columbia University, I would add that Iran may be able to assert its influence not only in Afghanistan, but also across that country toward the former Soviet republic of Tajikistan.

The Persian-speaking Farsiwan and Hazara in the west of Afghanistan bordering Iran, and the Persian-speaking Tajiks in the northwest, bordering Tajikistan, form a cultural-linguistic bridge between Iran and Tajikistan; this Persian cultural continuum from Iran, across western and northeastern Afghanistan, to Tajikistan may augur a future social economic and political interaction.

The aggrandizement of Iran could thus in time become the natural concomitant to the demise of the Soviet Union along with the demise of the Marxist central government in Afghanistan.

RALPH GROVES

Bethpage, L.I., Jan. 19, 1993

FEBRUARY 1, 1993

Zahir Shah's proposals

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 28: The former Afghan Monarch, Mohammad Zahir Shah has presented a number of proposals for the solution of existing complications and formation of a permanent government in Afghanistan, VOA reporter

After recalling the hardships and miseries of the Afghan nation during the past 14 years, the former Afghan monarch said that the miserable Afghan nation was now led up with bloodshed. He said that nation cannot accept its continuation and the people of Afghanistan wants to put an end to the prevalent situation, so that national unity could be saved within the framework of an Islamic united and independent Afghanistan.

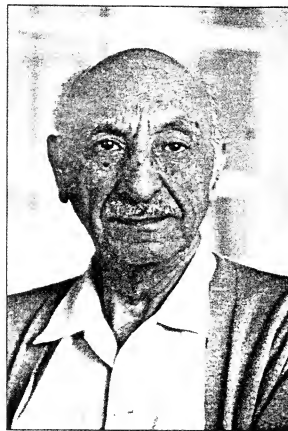
He said now the time has come when a just practicable solution of the problem acceptable to the people of Afghanistan should be found. Zahir Shah presented his programme for the political solution. He said this programme is a political process which would be implemented in three phases and would result in the establishment of a national and broad-based government in Afghanistan. This government would be acceptable to majority of the Afghans and would be trustworthy for international community.

For the implementation of the proposed programme, firstly a supervisory team should be set up.

Secondly, an emergency Loya Jirga be held and in the third phase, a real Loya Jirga would be convened. The former Afghan King said the supervisory team should form from among the prominent and renowned Afghans with the support of the United Nations and through consensus. This team along with the United Nations would hold consultations with all the concerned parties and groups of Afghanistan and would seek their support for the Loya Jirga.

The team will also seek the support of international community and world countries interested in peace in Afghanistan. In the second phase, this team would hold an emergency Loya Jirga which will later elect head of the State for an interim period and would also approve the interim government proposed by the Head of State.

The interim government will govern the country till the formation of a new Afghan Government through general elections under the auspices of the United Nations. Thirdly when the interim government starts

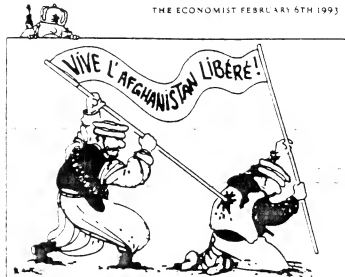


Royal weatherman

WHENEVER Afghanistan seems even more hopelessly in the mire than usual, someone suggests appealing to the former king, Zahir Shah. In the past he has shown reluctance to intercede from his exile in Rome. But this week, "as a lifelong servant" of Afghanistan, he came up with what he called a "just, practical and acceptable" plan to bring peace to the country. . . .

The former king, who is 74, apparently has no plans to go back to Afghanistan, which may diminish his appeal as a force for unity. His idea that the UN should run a general election comes at a time when the UN is close to despair about the prospects for peace in Afghanistan. . . .

THE ECONOMIST FEBRUARY 5TH 1993



function, it will convene Loya Jirga for the approval of constitution.

This Loya Jirga would not be an emergency one rather it will be the traditional Loya Jirga of Afghanistan. This Loya Jirga will approve the constitution and arrange elections under the supervision of the United Nations.

Le Monde, 12.3.1992
(taken from
Afghanistan
Info #32, 10/92)

PT

1/29

The U.S. has long encouraged the Afghans to implement a democratic, broadbased political process to choose a leadership. The U.S. does not favor any particular Afghan faction.

- Throughout the war years, Afghans fought for removal of the imposed Najib regime and its replacement by a broadbased government manifesting the will of the Afghan people. The United States, the leading donor to the cause of Afghan freedom during the war, has consistently supported this goal.
- If the Afghan people view the Shura outcome as broadbased and representative, we believe they will support the new government. So far, we have noted that:
 - Some groups inside Afghanistan view this Shura as sufficiently representative of Afghanistan's main factions and regions.
 - They offer qualified support for the outcome, linking their total support to the creation of a truly broadbased government.
 - Others oppose. They charge that the Shura was manipulated to ensure a narrow-based outcome.
- We believe that government appointments in the next few days will be extremely important to the Shura's success.
 - Will Afghanistan's major groups and regions be adequately represented in the government?
 - Or, will a certain group or groups or regions be favored?
 - Will the political process continue toward the framing of a constitution and the holding of elections?
- We believe that it is extremely important that the appointments of the prime minister and cabinet reflect a broadbased, inclusive approach.
- Foreign donors will contribute to the reconstruction of Afghanistan only after peace, stability and security are re-established.
- Only a broad-based government can establish such conditions.
- No single group or even a small number of groups can dominate Afghanistan.
- There is such a large number of important groups in Afghanistan that stability and peace can only come if they feel a part of the process.
- Consultation, consensus, cooperation, this is the Afghan way, historically. Whenever there was broad representation in the government, peace and development followed.
- If someone does not participate, it is his loss.
- The Afghan people hope for and will support a broadbased government.
- We urge Afghanistan's leaders to act quickly to build a government representative of the Afghan people. All parties should exercise restraint, and resolve differences through negotiation and not violence.

The election of Rabbani

from Mushahid Hussain Islamabad

The long-awaited meeting of Afghanistan's traditional Shura Assembly, comprising 1,335 elected representatives, finally elected Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani as president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan for a two-year term. Rabbani's election was greeted by rockets fired into Kabul by his arch rival, the Hizbi-Islami leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who has accused Rabbani "of playing a dangerous game to remain in power" and charged that responsibility for the killing of innocent people must be shared by the Jamiat-Islami of Rabbani and its Communist allies.

Hekmatyar's attack apparently means that he is not responding to the overtures of President Rabbani who, in an address to the nation on 3 January, asked Hekmatyar "to forget the past and start a new phase of relations". Hekmatyar's reference to Rabbani's Communist allies pertains to the support extended by northern Afghan strongman and commander of the Uzbek Militia, General Rashid Dostum, who was one of the first to pledge loyalty and support to the newly elected president.

The Assembly also elected 250 members from its ranks to act as a parliament which would continue in office until an elected government is formed. Among other decisions is one to establish a regular army for Afghanistan. Four of the nine major Mujahedin leaders have decided to support President Rabbani, while the opposition will continue to be led by Hekmatyar. For his part, Rabbani announced his resignation from Jamiat-Islami because "from this moment on, I belong to no party". The next phase would be the formation of a new cabinet and the nomination of a prime minister.

Pakistan and Iran have both expressed support for Rabbani's government. Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan expressed Pakistan's "complete support for the national reconstruction of Afghanistan and for the progress and prosperity of the brotherly Afghan people". Iran sent its deputy foreign minister, Aladdin Borujerdi, to Kabul with a message of solidarity for Rabbani, who is a Persian-speaking Tajik. The 52-year old professor also has good ties with Saudi Arabia and is the only major Mujahedin leader to have visited both Russia as well as Central Asia.

The election of Rabbani, even though disputed by his rivals, fills what could have been a dangerous political vacuum. His major problem will be to enlist international support for the reconstruction of Afghanistan and the rehabilitation of refugees. Interestingly, America's special envoy to Afghanistan, Peter Tomsen, did

not link US assistance with future stability, only stating that it was "premature to give any judgement about the Assembly's performance at this stage" and expressing the hope that the Assembly's decisions "would be acceptable to the majority of Afghans".

In an interesting but related development, Pakistan announced that it would seek closure of all offices of Afghan political parties operating out of Pakistan as well as to urge some 5,000 Arab international volunteers who were fighting with the Mujahedin to return to their own countries. These Arabs include a number of Palestinians, Egyptians, Algerians and Sudanese and several Arab governments have privately complained to Pakistan that these well trained, highly motivated Arab "Afghans" are a potential factor for political instability in their own countries (MEI 438).

In any case, Pakistan sees the election of Rabbani as closing the final chapter on the Afghan saga which began with the April 1978 Marxist coup in Kabul and was aggravated by the Soviet military intervention in December 1979.

MEI — 8 January 1983

America wants to kill Hekmatyar, claims Hezb

By Anwar Iqbal

ISLAMABAD: The Afghan mujahideen leader Gulbaddin Hekmatyar claimed Thursday the United States was trying to assassinate him.

"US commandos, now in Pakistan, had planned to assassinate Hekmatyar last Tuesday but could not carry out their plan," said a statement read on the Payam-i-Azadi radio, run by his Hezb-i-Islami party.

A party spokesman said the Americans delayed their operation "perhaps because they realised that we had intercepted their communication."

A spokesman for Pakistan army said last week 65 US commandos were visiting the country and were staying at the headquarters of the Pakistani commandos at Cherat, near Peshawar.

He said they were here on a friendly trip and were busy doing joint exercises with Pakistani commandos.

Since Cherat is close to Pakistan's borders with Afghanistan, the presence of American commandos there has caused all sorts of speculations.

Qazi Hussain Ahmad, leader of Jamaat-e-Islami, was the first Pakistani politician who said last week that the commandos were sent to kill Hekmatyar.

Qazi is now on a peace mission in Afghanistan where he received a 21-gun salute and a guard of honour by 8,000 guerrillas when he visited

Hekmatyar's headquarters Wednesday. After his talks with Hekmatyar, Qazi Hussain Ahmad said he was hopeful peace would return to Kabul soon.

Meanwhile, Qazi Hussain Ahmad has decided to stay in Kabul until a durable solution to the Afghan problem is found and permanent peace achieved.

It was after a meeting between Hekmatyar and Qazi Hussain Ahmad that Hezb-i-Islami claimed that Washington had sent commandos to eliminate its leader.

Hezb-i-Islami said the Americans planned to kill Hekmatyar after a deal with the Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani. They promised to help Rabbani stay in power and also to recognise his government if he helped Washington in eliminating Hekmatyar.

Asked why should the Americans want to kill Hekmatyar, a spokesman for his party said, "The Americans believe Hekmatyar is a dangerous fundamentalist leader opposed to their hegemony in the region."

"We do not expect Pakistan to allow Americans to use its soil for

terrorism inside Afghanistan," said the party broadcast.

However, Iran was a step ahead of both Qazi and Hekmatyar as on Wednesday the state-controlled Iranian news agency IRNA said the commandos had already killed one Afghan leader.

The agency, in a despatch from Tehran said, "The American commandos were behind the recent assassination of an Afghan mujahideen leader Nasrullah Mansoor."

Mansoor, governor of the Khost province, died in a car-bomb explosion inside Afghanistan last week.

IRNA claimed that Pakistan was holding two US commandos for their involvement in the murder of Mansoor, a pro-Iran mujahideen leader.

A spokesman for the Pakistan government, when asked to comment, described both these reports as 'speculative' and said the Americans were only here on a routine military visit.

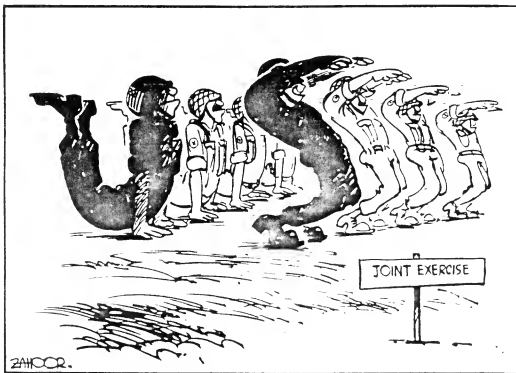
Pakistan and the United States, he said, were old allies and their armed forces have often held joint exercises.



Frontier Post 1/4

News (Pakistan)

2/19



Frontier Post 2/18

The Silk Road catches fire

With the ending of the cold war, the playground of Kipling's "Great Game" is no longer out of bounds. But only true enthusiasts need apply

THE citadel of Bukhara is one of the splendours of the world. Soaring above the burning desert of Central Asia, it is a reminder of the wealth that once turned an oasis on the Silk Road into one of the world's great cities and centres of learning. Bukhara was the city of one of the greatest of Islamic philosophers, Avicenna, whose commentaries on Aristotle, translated into Latin, helped give the Greek philosopher back to Europe after centuries of oblivion. Westerners are indebted to Bukhara for one of the building-blocks of the Renaissance.

But under the asphalt that oozes in the mid-summer heat lies a more sinister memorial to Bukhara's role in the world: the unmarked graves of two British officers, Colonel Charles Stoddard and Captain Arthur Conolly. They were kidnapped by the Emir of Bukhara in 1842, tortured, forced to dig their own graves, and beheaded. They provide a dark reminder of another aspect of Central Asia: that it was here that Britain and Russia, the two mightiest 19th-century empires, played out the "Great Game". This was the phrase coined by Conolly and popularised by Kipling (in "Kim") for the endless struggle of espionage, trickery and skirmishing waged by Russia, advancing relentlessly southwards, and Britain, which feared that this advance was aimed at the conquest of India.

The Game was one of history's most extraordinary episodes, with characters to match. Its players included a psychopathic Buddhist Rus-

sian baron who enjoyed baking prisoners in ovens, and a British secret agent who tricked the Bolsheviks in Bukhara into putting him in charge of a search instituted for himself by pretending to be Albanian (no one in Bukhara spoke Albanian). It was also an episode of historic significance, which saw an entire British army butchered in the Khyber Pass, khanate after Central Asian khanate falling to the advance of tsarist armies, and which had a strange finale in the disastrous Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Central Asia remains a strategic black hole. A giant area of desert and mountain three times the size of Western Europe, it embraces Tibet in the east, Afghanistan in the south and, on its widest definition, Azerbaijan in the west. This vast, empty space lies between five old empires—those of Russia, China, Turkey, Persia and India. As the old khanates revive as independent countries, Central Asia has again become a place for international rivalry. All the old empires are vying for renewed influence.

Turkey has the strongest historical and cultural links. All but one of the Central Asian states speak Turkic languages. Most look to Turkey for a model of how to combine economic growth with modern Islam. Turkey is "the star that shows the Turkic countries the way", as the Kirgiz president put it.

The exception, Tajikistan, speaks Persian. This gives Iran influence, which it is trying to exercise elsewhere in the area.

China has interests because 6m Central Asians live in its western provinces (which used to be called Chinese Turkestan). Many would like to join with their Turkic neighbours to the east.

Pakistan has long seen itself and Afghanistan as part of a sort of Islamic confederation, and this idea is now extending northwards. As for Russia, it has armies, policy-makers and 9m Russians living in Central Asia, many of whose governments increasingly look to Russia for their domestic security.

The Great Game, second half

What sort of new Great Game is now in prospect? And what role will Central Asia itself play? Start with what will not happen. The region will not become a cockpit for another superpower confrontation, because the world is no longer divided that way. The region's old strategic importance as a buffer zone between two great empires has gone.

Nor will it involve a powerful new entity: Central Asia itself. In the recent past, as the Central Asian states emerged from the Soviet yoke, many politicians and intellectuals have dreamed that one day the various states would unite into a single country, "Turkestan", which would become a regional power in its own right. This dream is especially strong in the most populous Central Asian state, Uzbekistan.

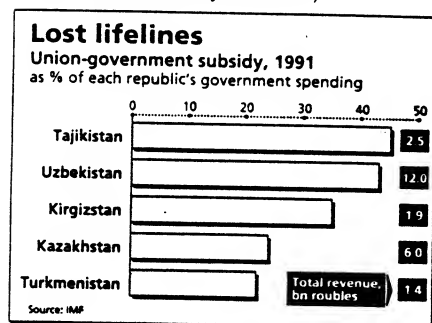
There, intellectuals argue that Central Asia is a natural unit, because of its shared language, shared religion and mutual economic dependence. Five countries share two rivers, which form a single giant water system. They point out that strict control over scarce water has underpinned Central Asia's authoritarian traditions. Individuals benefit directly from using water, but their incentive to maintain the whole system is weak. Only a strong centralised authority can ensure that canals are maintained and that water is shared equitably between people living both up-stream and downstream. What could be more natural, therefore, than a single government running Central Asia?

That is sheer fantasy. All parts of the region have been spending the past year creating separate nation-states, not one big Turkic union. Persian-speaking Tajikistan wants nothing to do with the Turkish-speaking states. Turkmenistan's president believes—probably rightly—that his will be the only economically viable country in Central Asia over the next decade, thanks to huge gas reserves. He does not want that wealth frittered away in union with poorer neighbours. Kazakhstan's president knows that his Russian minority (39% of the population) would never accept being swallowed up in Turkestan. Any move towards that would cause civil war in Kazakhstan, and lead to the break-up of the country.

These states, moreover, are ethnically divided. Over the past few years, more than



2,000 people have died in inter-ethnic warfare. Of the five countries, only Kirgizstan and Turkmenistan (which do not share a common border) have lived without disputes. Mismatched borders have left 1m Uzbeks in Tajikistan and 1m Tajiks in Uzbekistan (the Tajik areas include Bukhara, a historic centre of Tajik culture).



While the power of Islam will be a vital part of the next Great Game, it will not bind the region together into an Islamic state. Indeed, it will tend to divide it. Islamic fundamentalism is usually associated with big cities, because the piety that is a feature of Muslim village life becomes more radical and politicised when uprooted peasants move into towns. Three of the Central Asian countries have social and demographic characteristics quite different from the rest—all derived from their nomadic past. These are Turkmenistan, Kirgizstan (which also has strong democratic credentials) and Kazakhstan, with its large Russian population. There, cities are small and much of the population is gathered into tiny hamlets scattered over immense distances.

Moreover Islam has penetrated the north of Central Asia—Kazakhstan and Kirgizstan—far less than the south. The north, for the time being, will provide an internal bulwark against a uniform Islamic fundamentalism. Such Islamic variations, coupled with border disputes based on ethnic rivalry, make a single state appear implausible for the foreseeable future.

Malthusian

No, the dominant force shaping the future of Central Asia is a stark fact. Its entire way of life faces collapse. The problems begin with the fall of the Soviet Union. Most Central Asians have long claimed that they were being exploited by a Soviet state which plundered their cotton fields, gold and oil and gave them nothing in return. They were wrong. All of them really depended on hand-outs from Moscow. In 1991 those hand-outs accounted for between 20% and 45% of public spending (see chart). In 1992 the handouts stopped. This alone would be cause enough for concern in a region which was the poorest part of the former Soviet Union, where average life expectancy is little more than 60, and where a third of hospitals do not have running water.

But beyond this loss of subsidy lies something far worse: Central Asia's life-giving water system is drying up. The symbol of this disaster is the Aral Sea, once the world's

fourth-largest body of inland water, which has lost 60% of its volume since 1960. Its level has dropped 15 metres (50 feet) and its main port, Aralsk, now lies 100 kilometres from shore. The problem is that too much of the melting snow of the Himalayas, which tumbles down along the region's two great rivers (the Amu Darya or Oxus river, and the Syr Darya or Mysterious river), is being drawn off for farming.

In Central Asia, water—not land, people or capital—is the essential economic resource. Every year, to support farming and for other uses, the five states drain off all but 11 cubic kilometres of the water flowing through their rivers. Those 11 cubic kilometres are not enough even to keep the Aral Sea stable. They merely stop it from dying faster than it is dying already (its level is dropping by 30 centimetres a year).

Yet the amount of river water now being siphoned off is already too small to maintain current levels of farm output. Nearly a quarter of the irrigated area of the largest farming region in Uzbekistan receives only 70% of the water that the main crop, cotton, needs to grow properly. Anywhere else, cotton would not be grown on land like this. But cotton is the region's sole cash crop. Central Asia has to keep growing it.

This level of farm output barely supports the population now. At the moment, Central Asia has only 0.2 hectares (0.5 acres) of irrigated land to support each person. In arid and semi-arid regions, 0.3 hectares is usually regarded as a bare minimum.

Yet Central Asia also has the fastest-growing population in the former Soviet Union. It is increasing at around 3½% a year. Two-fifths of the population is under 18. By 2010, the population will have doubled. The water supply per person will have fallen by half, and that from a level that is already inadequate.

The supply of water cannot be increased because the only way of doing that would be to divert water from Russia's Siberian rivers. The independence of the Central Asian republics has made a diversion impossible. The efficiency with which water is used cannot be increased dramatically—certainly not doubled—because cotton-farming is already relatively efficient. Virtually any other crop would use as much water.

In short, Central Asia is a rare case of a region facing Malthusian disaster. Its population is rising. Its capacity to grow food is determined by the availability of water. And water supplies are fixed or falling.

This combination will lead to political strife within Central Asia. First, it will make confrontation over control of water likely between states—especially between upstream ones (Kirgizstan, Tajikistan) and those downstream (the rest).

Next, because of the connection between control of water and authoritarianism, it will stir up conflicts between old-guard communists and their Islamic, nationalist and democratic challengers. The old guard has already been overthrown in Kirgizstan (peacefully) and Tajikistan (vio-

lently). The question is not whether the other regimes can survive, but when they will be overthrown.

In Uzbekistan, President Islam Karimov has responded to the civil war in neighbouring Tajikistan by sealing off the border, appealing for Russian military assistance and throwing members of the opposition in jail. The presence of 1m Tajiks in Uzbekistan and 1m Uzbeks in Tajikistan means Uzbekistan cannot escape violence next door.

Third, economic pain will increase the attractions of fundamentalism in areas outside Tajikistan. The tinder is there to work upon. The Muslim population of Central Asia, at 50m, is larger than that of any Gulf state. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Islam's influence has grown dramatically. In 1989 there were only 160 working mosques in Central Asia, and a single medressah (Islamic seminary). Now there are around 10,000 mosques and ten medressahs.

Fundamentalist groups offer practical help—medicine and food—that incompetent or corrupt governments usually fail to deliver. This ability to respond in the right way is especially appealing at times of economic and natural disaster—as in Egypt after the October earthquake. Fundamentalists also exploited economic discontent in Iran in the late 1970s. They are likely to try to do so again in Central Asia.

A desert bog

The reason why all this matters so much to the rest of the world is not just that 50m people face misfortune. It is that half a dozen regional powers have interests in an unstable region, all of them unable to resolve Central Asia's conflicts peacefully. So the next round of the Great Game will be a quagmire of Central Asian squabbles, deepened by rifts between styles of Islam, into which the old local empires will be sucked.

Here is the line-up of players:

- **Turkey.** Turkish state television is broadcast all over the region; 10,000 Central Asian students are studying at Turkish universities and high schools; Turkey has sponsored Central Asian countries' entry into international bodies like the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

If, as many westerners hope and assume, Turkey became the dominant foreign influence in Central Asia, then all might be well. With Turkey's help, the region might become stable. But Turkey's influence peaked in the summer of 1992. Since then, the Central Asian states have discovered that their cultural links with Turkey are not as great as they supposed in their former Soviet-imposed ignorance.

The Turkish model remains attractive, but there are no Central Asian Atatürks to implement it. Turkey finds itself bogged down in the country to which it is closest—Azerbaijan—while Iran has made the diplomatic running in the endless war between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian-populated enclave

From the Editor:

They went to Islamabad and, as of this writing, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar & Burhanuddin Rabbani have come to terms. Time to rejoice? We'll see. But it is better news than we've seen from Afghanistan in a long time. We'll keep our fingers crossed.

We've tried to give you the push-me-pull-you account of how the recent rapprochement came about. Our sources were primarily Reuters' telexes & the PT since the Kabul presses are not yet rolling & the Western press has other concerns. We have, however, included last year's KT explanation of Nawroz as a New Year greeting.

Once again there is some small print. We regret that but we are delighted that so many of you wrote us, & that there is so much news. We reduce items so we can fit them lengthwise & widthwise on our pages in a somewhat organized way. Size is not related to importance.

Thanks to everyone who sent us letters & clippings; the deadline for the next issue is 5/1.



EVENTS

"The Silk Road" & "Early Reflections of the Silk Road," illustrated lectures by Joan Goldsmith & Karen Rubinson, will be the topics at the Friday, 3/19 meeting of the INDO-MONGOLIAN SOCIETY. The program will take place at New York University's Hagop Kevorkian Center, 50 Washington Square South, New York City at 6:30 p.m. Ms. Goldsmith will show the ancient cities of Kashgar, Urumchi, Xian & Denhuang; Dr. Rubinson will discuss Till Ya-Tepe (in Afghanistan) and Pazryk. Admission is free.

AMNESTY INT'L's NYC DISTRICT REFUGEE PROGRAM will present a conference on "The Global Refugee Crisis: Rethinking Policy & Methods of Empowerment" on Saturday 3/27 at the NYU Law School, D'Agostino Hall, 110 West 3rd St., New York City. The conference will last from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. Sima Wali of Refugee Women in Development & Roy Williams of the Int'l Rescue Committee are among the speakers. General admission is \$15. For further information call (212) 633-4262.

Robert McChesney will present the second series of LEON B. POULLADA MEMORIAL LECTURES at Princeton University on 4/29, 4/30, 5/3 and 5/4. The overall topic will be "The Past as Future: The Conception of Central Asia." All the illustrated lectures will take place at 4:30 p.m. For specific topics & location, call Princeton's Near East Program (609) 258-4272 after the middle of March.

Edinburgh University's Robert Hillenbrand will give the HAGOP KEVORKIAN LECTURES IN NEAR EASTERN ART & CIVILIZATION at New York University on 3/23, 3/24, 3/25 and 3/30. His overall topic is "A 14th Century 'Book of Kings': Persian Art between China & Europe." The respective titles are "Narrative Techniques in the Great Mongol 'Shâhnâma,'" "Alexander the Great in Persian Eyes," "The Lost Arts of the Ilkhanids: The Evidence of the Great Mongol 'Shâhnâma'" & "Chinese & European Themes in the Great Mongol 'Shâhnâma.'" All the programs begin at 6:15 p.m.

The MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION's 27th Annual Meeting will take place at the Sheraton Triangle Hotel & Convention Center in Research Triangle Park, NC, from 11/11-14. For further information, write Elizabeth Noll, MESA, 1232 N. Cherry Avenue, Univ. of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721.

inside Azerbaijan. Even in Azerbaijan, Turkey's influence is constrained because most of the 15m people living in northern Iran are ethnically Azerbaijani. Closer union between Turkey and Azerbaijan would propel both into conflict with Iran.

Above all, Central Asia's economic problems are too vast for Turkey (or any one country) to solve. Turkey granted Central Asia \$1 billion of aid and trade credits in 1992. This was a lot, but nothing like enough. In 1991 subsidies from the Soviet Union amounted to 24 billion roubles—\$14 billion at the average official exchange rate (or \$600m at the average cash exchange rate) in 1991. Turkey's limited ability to meet the region's need for external assistance provides others with opportunities, notably:

- **Iran.** One of Central Asia's handicaps is that it is so far from the sea. Whoever can provide access to a port, and contact with the outside world, will have a great advantage—and the nearest ports are in Pakistan and Iran. So it is no surprise that Iran has been negotiating with Turkmenistan to build a pipeline to transmit Turkmen gas to the Iranian pipeline system that reaches the sea at Abadan. This gives Iran an influence in the region beyond its linguistic cousin, Tajikistan, and will ensure some external support for fundamentalism in other parts of Central Asia.

- **China.** Unlike Iran's, China's interests are primarily defensive—to stop instability spilling over into Chinese Turkestan. China might try simply to seal off its border. But Central Asia is also a tempting market for Chinese exports. This prospect might serve to suck China into the region, if only because it believes that trade and expertise will help stabilise the economies of neighbouring Kazakhstan and Kirgizstan. But they fear becoming a battleground between China and Russia.

- **Russia.** This is the country for which Central Asia poses the biggest problem. Indeed, the region is probably the only area on Russia's borders whose problems cannot be contained, because so many Russians live there. Russia cannot stand by and let 9m of "its" people be caught up in chaos. Unfortunately, the size of the Russian population also means that Russia cannot create close allies in the region.

Since the Afghan war, the first time in recent history that Russian interests were pitted against Central Asian interests, around 500,000 Russians have fled from the region. This is a disaster for Central Asia, because Russians dominate jobs in industry. Power stations, textile plants and machine-building industries all over the region are already seizing up for lack of skilled la-

bour. The migration also exacerbates tensions between Russia and Central Asia, whose governments look to Russia for external assistance while at the same time planning to replace Russians with local skilled labour. The Russian problem is particularly acute in Kazakhstan, where nearly as many Russians live as do Kazakhs. The growth of nationalism in either Russia or Kazakhstan would pit local Russian interests against Kazakh ones and undermine stability in Kazakhstan (a country, remember, with nuclear weapons).

The new Great Game thus threatens to be a stark and brutal spectacle. Moderate and fundamentalist Islam are in conflict. So are Islam and the remnants of secular (communist) authority. Russia and Turkey are too deeply involved in the region to extricate themselves from it, even if they want out. China and Iran are not yet entrenched, but could become so. Take, therefore, an economic disaster similar to the one which overwhelmed Somalia and Ethiopia. Add religious and ethnic differences. Mix in diplomatic rivalries. The recipe makes Central Asia one of the most unstable parts of the world over the next decade.

THE ECONOMIST DECEMBER 26TH 1992-JANUARY 8TH 1993

Good looting

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN KABUL

IT WAS a happy day, February 15th 1989. The last Soviet soldier crossed the Oxus on his way home. The occupation of Afghanistan was over. Four years' later, though, the occasion is hardly remembered, and if it were there would be little to celebrate. Kabul, it is true, is at last in the hands of the mujahideen forces that fought the Soviet army. The communist government that took over from the Soviet forces was finally deposed last April. But Kabul now looks a sorry prize.

During the years of the resistance, the capital was hardly damaged. Now it has become a wreck, as rival mujahideen forces contend for power. True, Kabul has been spared aerial bombardments: the air power available to Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, the main spoiler of Kabul, has been reduced during the fighting to two helicopters. But Mr Hikmatyar's rockets, pounding the capital incessantly over the past month, have destroyed countless buildings. Even those merely damaged are left to decay. There is no will, or means, to repair them.

Much of Mr Hikmatyar's fire has been concentrated on the diplomatic district, in the belief that this will do most to discredit those who claim to be the government in Kabul, and indeed of all Afghanistan. Most diplomats have left to pursue their careers in safer places. Of the few that remain, the Iranians like to keep in touch with their own mujahideen. Pakistan still thinks it could be

a peacemaker: Hamid Gul, who once headed Pakistan's intelligence services and promoted Mr Hikmatyar's cause in the war against the Russians, has been talking to rival factions over the past week but without any apparently useful results.

The North Koreans mysteriously stay put. Perhaps even Kabul is preferable to the privations of Pyongyang, or it may be that the devious Koreans have a plan that could benefit them. Their cars have been parked outside the Dostam headquarters rather frequently lately. Abdul Rashid Dostam was a general in the army of the former commu-

been talk of Mr Dostam joining the government, but this would infuriate Mr Hikmatyar even more. He has a deep hatred of all communists, past as well as present. In any case, Mr Dostam probably prefers for the present to run his own patch rather than to help prop up a wobbly government. His time may come later, which could be why the Koreans are leaving their calling card.

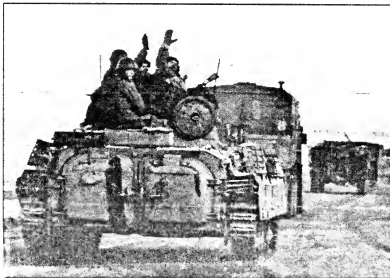
Government forces control the high ground in Kabul while Mr Hikmatyar's men, the Shia Hizb-i-Islami, are in the

low-lying south-eastern suburbs. The government forces had been getting the better of Mr Hikmatyar's men, but found they were fighting on two fronts when a third group, Hizb-i-Wahdat, intervened on Mr Hikmatyar's side. The Masoud fighters then concentrated on the Hizb-i-Wahdat, killing more than 200 of its supporters, a high toll for a single battle, even in Kabul's mean streets.

Caught in the crossfire are the civilians, many of whom have been killed

during the past month. Refugees run higher and higher in search of safety. As they leave their homes, their possessions are stolen. "This is good looting," says a smiling soldier who could have stepped out of medieval times. Medieval is what Kabul has become.

THE ECONOMIST FEBRUARY 10TH 1993



Exit the 20th century

nist regime under President Najibullah. His defection to the mujahideen was the main cause of Mr Najibullah's fall. Mr Dostam remains in Mazar-i-Sharif in the north, where he controls a sizeable domain, but he keeps about 2,000 soldiers in Kabul. There has

Tajiks Trade One Nightmare for Another

60,000 Flee Civil War. Cross Into Afghanistan. Where Many Freeze Without Shelter

By Molly Moore
Washington Post Foreign Service

MAZAR-E SHARIF, Afghanistan—Guldasta Khodydad's nightmare began, she said, with the late-night pounding on her door and the shouts of neighbors warning her family to escape before rampaging communist troops reached their village in southern Tajikistan.

Khodydad, her husband and six children joined a flood of Tajiks fleeing the soldiers. Weeks later, they reached the banks of the Amu Darya River, which separates the former Soviet republic from north-eastern Afghanistan. Under fire from border troops, the exhausted families leapt into the swift currents in a desperate attempt to reach safety on the opposite shore in Afghanistan.

Khodydad struggled to help her children across the river. But a bullet struck her 22-year-old son, she said, and he disappeared in the roily water and was quickly swept away. As she watched in horror, the current also snatched babies from the arms of other mothers.

Camped here on the bitterly cold, windswept plain of north-central Afghanistan, Khodydad is one of more than 60,000 Tajiks who have fled a nine-month civil war in Tajikistan. The Tajik civil war, on what once was the southern edge of the Soviet Union, reportedly has killed thousands of Tajiks and turned more than a half-million into refugees. It also has gone virtually unnoticed by the outside world.

But in fleeing to Afghanistan, a nation devastated by its own 14-year civil war, the Tajik refugees appear to have traded one nightmare for another. Tens of thousands are camping under lightweight tents or burrowed into dug-outs on the plains here, where icy winds plunge temperatures to 15 degrees below zero. The cold kills several young children and elderly adults each night, officials said. Many children arrive even without shoes or socks.

The Tajik civil war has intensified dramatically since hard-line communist forces ousted a coalition government of moderate commu-



nists and opposition groups in September. In October, according to refugees and Western officials monitoring the conflict, the communist military began attacks against supporters of the various opposition groups, including villagers seen as sympathetic to the relatively broad-based, anti-communist Islamic Renaissance Party.

Tajik government officials have reported that as many as 540,000 people—a tenth of the country's population—have been displaced by the fighting. International aid officials estimate as many as 120,000 of those refugees fled south toward Afghanistan. Officials said half of those may be trapped in Tajikistan by military forces who have tried to stem the exodus.

Since early December, waves of refugees have escaped by swimming the icy Amu Darya or clinging to makeshift rafts or logs. But, in recent days, troops on the Tajikistan side have stopped others from crossing into Afghanistan.

Many of the refugees recount ordeals like Khodydad's or grim tales of daily life in what was one of

the poorest republics of the former Soviet Union. Their stories could not be independently corroborated because few foreign journalists or aid workers have been able to travel inside the newly independent state in the past two months.

A powerful, pro-communist militia from southern Tajikistan seized key parts of the capital, Dushanbe, in the fall, and forced the ouster of a six-month-old coalition government. But the militia, called the Popular Movement, has been unable to establish full control, and fighting has continued in Dushanbe and in the countryside among numerous political, religious and regional factions.

Many refugees said pro-communist forces have killed young Muslim men as well as infants in families believed to support the Islamic Renaissance Party. Several women wept as they described incidents in which soldiers allegedly killed babies with their bare hands.

On the night of Oct. 11, according to Ayub Saifullah, a tractor driver, pro-communist soldiers armed with AK-47 assault rifles broke down the door of his house on a collective farm. After they ransacked the house, Saifullah said, his family fled from the village along with about 160 other families. They traveled in trucks and buses and on foot for weeks, carrying pots, blankets and other household possessions.

They camped on the banks of Amu Darya at the Afghan border, sleeping on the ground in a forest. In late December, the pro-communist forces pressed southward, threatening the refugees, whose numbers had swelled to tens of thousands.

"We crossed the river under a rain of bullets," said Kharulla Muzaffar, who now serves as leader of the more than 13,600 refugees at the sprawling Sakhi Camp near Mazar-e Sharif, in northern Afghanistan. United Nations officials have estimated that at least 200 people drowned while trying to cross the river. They said they have no es-

timate of the number of people killed by gunfire from the Tajikistan shore.

Once on the Afghan side of the river, the refugees, exhausted from weeks of arduous travel, faced a new struggle for survival. There were outbreaks of measles and other diseases.

While thousands of refugees are believed to have been taken into the homes of local Afghans—distant tribal cousins separated for 70 years by the Soviet border—the majority were left to fend for themselves in a hostile environment with no shelter or food. Local Afghan warlords are providing military helicopters to ferry refugees from the nearly inaccessible river marshes to refugee camps.

Relief agencies have established camps, relying on food and equipment that had been stockpiled to assist Afghan refugees uprooted by

war. But the camps quickly became overcrowded, and U.N. workers found that the tents—designed for warm-weather refugee camps in Asia and Africa—were inadequate against the bitter winds here.

As temperatures dropped below zero in recent weeks, many of the refugees dug underground bunkers and lined the floors with blankets and carpets brought from their homes. Dozens of people crammed into the tiny spaces.

Relief agencies have provided wheat, cooking fat, sugar and high-protein biscuits, and local Afghan farmers or merchants have donated additional food. One woman, her head wrapped in a brightly flowered scarf like those worn by most Tajik women, was frying a fatty piece of mutton given to her by a local shepherd. He had brought several sheep to the camp, butchered them and parceled out chunks of meat to the

refugees.

Still, some refugees described their recent traumas and the conditions under which they now live as almost unbearable. Bahr Nissa, 25, has not named the baby girl she delivered in the camp on New Year's Day. "I have not given her a name because I want her to die," Nissa said, with no remorse in her voice. "I lost my 4-year-old already. My husband has been injured. I don't want to live like this anymore. There is no hope."

THE WASHINGTON POST JANUARY 19, 1993

Warriors and Refugees Rattle Border Guards in Central Asia

By CAREY GOLDBERG
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PYANDZH, Tajikistan—What could they do? Their military duty required them to defend the border and open fire on anyone who violated it. But these were women and children and old people, fleeing across the Pyandzh River to escape the bloodshed afflicting their homeland in Tajikistan.

"We were caught in a very complex position," said Lt. Col. Vladimir Zhernakov, deputy commander of the Russian guards who man the border with Afghanistan here. "It was happening before our very eyes, but you can't fire when it's women and children."

And so, what was once a tightly controlled boundary between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan turned in late December into a partly open gateway, allowing tens of thousands of refugees and retreating militants through. The crowds simply broke down the elaborate system of fencing and alarms at the frontier, and the guards were powerless to stop them.

In recent days, the mass crossings into Afghanistan have stopped, but an estimated 80,000 refugees in the border region linger, and Russian guards continue to face frequent clashes with Afghan fighters slipping across to sell arms or their own services.

The Pyandzh River is becoming a powerful symbol of a problem threatening not only this remote former Soviet republic, but much of a fast-changing Central Asia: a mixture of clan and ideological warfare that can spread at any time across the new national borders of the region.

Eight months of civil war among Tajikistan's 5 million people have left at least 20,000 people believed dead and hundreds of thousands of refugees on the road.

The turmoil has neighboring Central Asian states doubly worried. The Tajik conflict appears to be bringing mass, Afghanistan-style violence into former Soviet territory. And it could be a frightening harbinger of what awaits them all.

"In the geopolitical sense, Tajikistan was the most vulnerable point-of the former Soviet Union," presidential adviser Rustam Mirzoyev said. "It's a small republic that has an enormous border with an unstable country—Afghanistan."

"Iranian extremism came to us through Afghanistan," Mirzoyev said, referring to the Islamic fundamentalist opposition that Tajikistan's current pro-Communist government now appears to have vanquished.

Many see the arbitrary internal borders of the former Soviet Union as another cause of the Tajik conflict. The boundaries created by the Bolsheviks on the maps of the early 1920s were often carelessly drawn and left entities like Tajikistan with weak internal fault lines likely to give way

under tension.

Much of the recent fighting is simple clan warfare among traditional rivals or enemies in regions that Soviet authorities somewhat arbitrarily lumped together into Tajikistan.

In this too Tajikistan mirrors Afghanistan—a patchwork country where Tajiks, Pushtuns and Uzbeks are slugging it out for control. If Afghanistan's ethnic Tajiks lose control of Kabul, the capital, some analysts foresee an attempt to set up a Tajik state in northern Afghanistan at the risk of further destabilizing the region by attempting to do away with the old Soviet border altogether and uniting Tajiks from both sides.

The hundreds of thousands of Afghan Tajiks have natural ties with their once-Soviet brethren across the 600-mile border, and ex-Soviet Tajiks also communicate easily with the Pushtun, whose language, like Tajik, is Persian-based.

In a way, said Habib Rabiyyev, head of the Tajik government's committee on religion, today's mishmash really began "when England and Russia divided Central Asia on the River Pyandzh" in 1885.

For years, tough Soviet border controls kept the two sides of the Pyandzh well separated. But recent months have found Russian guards—leftovers from the Soviet era with a mission to keep turmoil at arm's length from home—overwhelmed by the pressure from both sides of the international boundary. It does not help that their border base has suffered cutoffs of cooking gas, breakdowns of electricity and bread shortages.

A unit of young Russian marines, pure joy on their faces as they waited to board a helicopter on their way home after four months of service on the border near Pyandzh, told harrowing tales of the frequent firefight near their isolated outposts.

"There were four of us marines, and we ran into six *dushmani*," Sgt. Alexander Semeniyutin recalled, referring to Afghan

resistance fighters. "They opened fire on us, we fired at them, then they started to chase us, then we turned it around and started to chase them," finally losing them in the high reeds of the Pyandzh River.

Valery Romantsov, a blond sergeant with aquamarine eyes, displayed the medal he won when his group of six men managed to capture 11 Afghan arms smugglers just as they were trying to install a large underground pipe to let them slither under the border's alarm system.

"We weren't even armed but we took them anyway," he said, his chest puffing. "We're marines."

Tajikistan's National Security Ministry shows videotapes of Afghan arms smugglers and fighters caught at the border, mountain men with dense black beards and one long line of thick black eyebrow across their foreheads.

Deputy Security Minister Inkhom Rakhmatov said that Afghan allies of the Islamic opposition "do propaganda work and call their men to cross the border and declare a jihad [holy war] against the Communists who are fighting their Islamic brethren."

According to the Tajik government, Tajiks willing to trade cars for arms have driven more than 6,000 vehicles over the border into Afghanistan. Zhernakov, the deputy Russian guard commander, said his men have caught Tajik smugglers leaving with everything from jewels to peacocks.

Neither Tajik officials nor the Russian guards blame the Afghan government for the border problems, noting that the north of Afghanistan is run by Afghan opposition groups and is out of Kabul's control.

But the disorder in Afghanistan does mean that the border troops have "no one to talk to" to arrange better joint defense of the frontier, Zhernakov said.

The Russian troops complain that they are seen as interlopers by both the Tajiks and the Afghans, but Zhernakov said they have no doubts about what they are doing here. They are the forward defense for Russia, he said, blocking arms and fighters that could otherwise stream unhindered from Afghanistan right on to the Slavic motherland.

"With the border open, anyone can send a rocket flying right from here to Russia," warned Imomali Rakhmonov, Tajikistan's new leader.

The other states of what was Soviet Central Asia—Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, plus Kazakhstan to the north—have few soldiers to spare for someone else's border. But they have repeatedly discussed the need for peacekeepers in Tajikistan and admitted they fear that "the Tajik variant" would overtake them as well.

President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan has been loudest in his warnings, and rightly so, Tajik officials said.

"The Tajik conflict can easily spread to the entire Central Asian region," said Tahir

Akhmedov, deputy consular chief in the Tajik Foreign Ministry. "There are over 1 million Uzbeks in Tajikistan, and millions of Tajiks in Uzbekistan. This process can easily leak."

It appears that it already has.

Last week, Kyrgyz media reported that three Kyrgyz people had been killed and 18 taken hostage by Tajik militants. News media in Bishkek, the Kyrgyz capital, also reported that Tajiks had tried to waylay humanitarian aid meant for the Kyrgyz regional center of Osh.

Tajik officials claim that Islamic fundamentalists similar to those in Tajikistan were the real force behind ethnic warfare in the Fergana Valley of Uzbekistan in the summer of 1989 that left more than 100 dead.

And members of the Tajik opposition say that thousands of Uzbek troops have been fighting on behalf of the Tajik government, doing some of its bloodiest work. The Tajik government acknowledges only that Uzbekistan has sent reinforcements to man the Afghan border, but it says the Uzbek help is not enough.

Pointing out that the Afghan border is of general concern, Tajik leaders have said they may appeal to the Commonwealth of Independent States—the loose grouping of 11 former republics formed in the wake of the Soviet Union's 1991 collapse—for more troops. But with the Commonwealth floundering and Russia in no hurry to send more soldiers, Tajikistan may end up depending only on its closest neighbors for help.

The leaders of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan met Jan. 4 in the Uzbek capital of Tashkent, discussed possible joint defense arrangements and hinted they might form their own commonwealth. This prompted predictions of a resurrected Turkestan—the historic region that once spanned Central Asia.

The Central Asian idea of joining forces holds the promise not only of quieting down Tajikistan but also alleviating other regional tensions that stemmed from the arbitrary border-drawing under the Bol-

TAJIKISTAN

At a Glance



People 5,112,000 (1989)

Ethnic breakdown:



Tajiks are a complex mix of ethnic subgroups, all Muslim; their language is similar to Persian.

History Ruled by Muslim chieftains until conquest by Russia in late 1800's; briefly part of an independent khanate after 1917; guerrilla war against Soviet rule until 1925; became full Soviet republic in 1929.

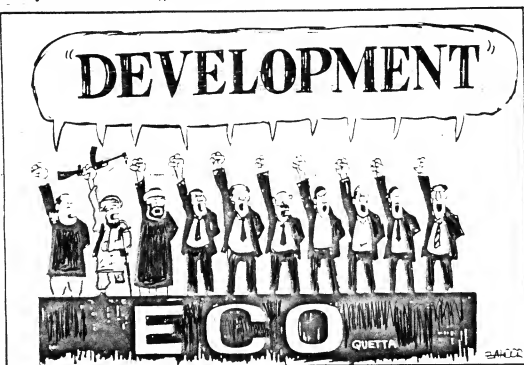
Economy Mining and metallurgy; oil, gas and coal; cattle; cotton; fruit and wine.

Land area 55,250 square miles, 6% arable.

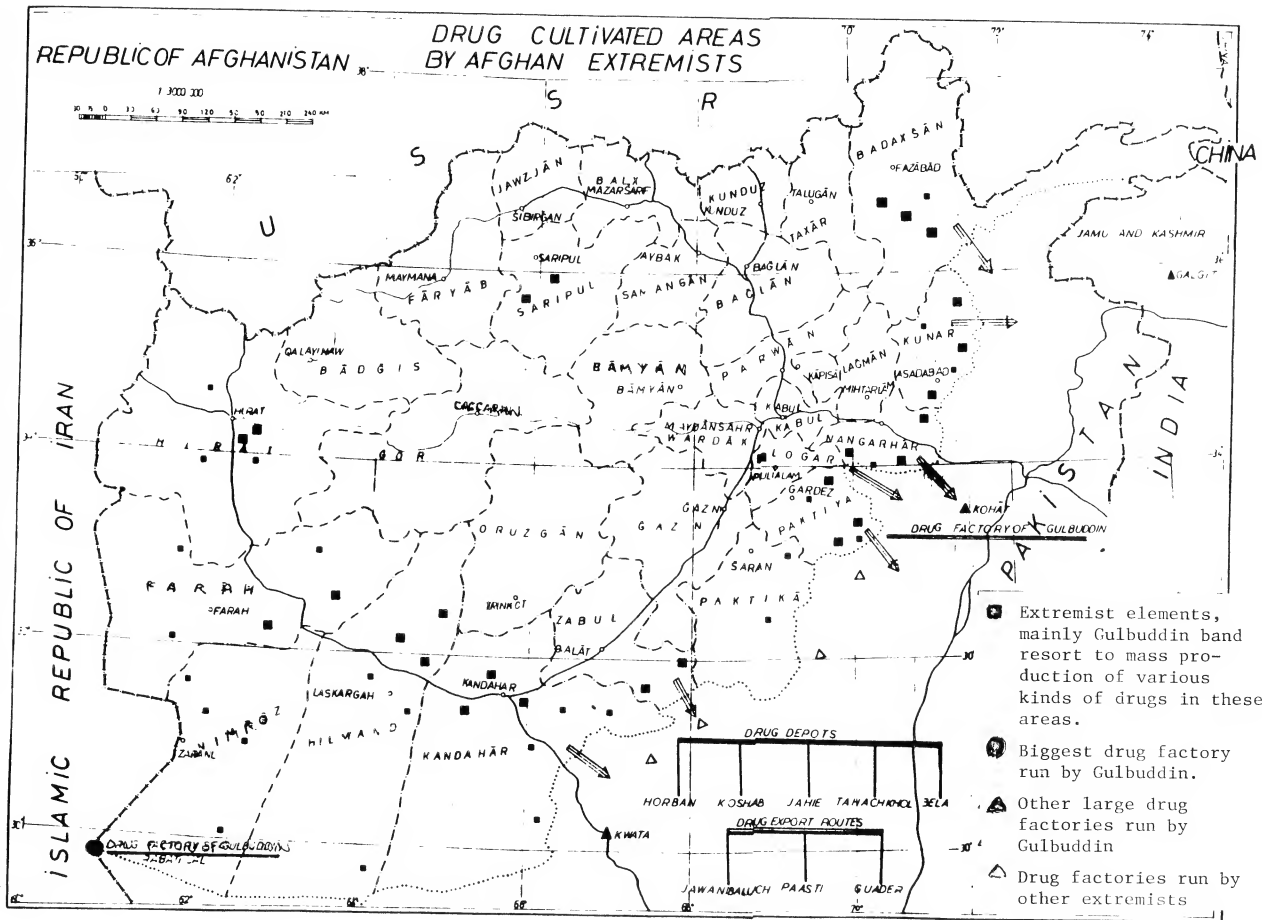
sheviks, the Russian newspaper Nezavisimaya Gazeta commented.

"A united Turkestan, in the opinion of the Central Asian leaders who respect strong power, could become a panacea for the region's ills," it said.

LOS ANGELES TIMES JANUARY 19, 1993



Frontier Post 2/9



Pakistan: Heroin Country

By Knut Royce

WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington — A study commissioned by the Central Intelligence Agency concludes the heroin trade has penetrated "the highest political circles" of Pakistan and "is becoming the lifeblood" of the economy and government in the strategically located South Asian country.

The intelligence document asserts that heroin traffickers have financed Pakistan's ruling political party, bought enough votes to win seats in the national assembly, and gained access to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. It contends that Pakistan's military intelligence agency has used heroin profits to fund separatist movements in India and the civil war in Afghanistan.

The study was written last fall under contract with the CIA's Counternarcotics Center by a former intelligence officer who spent much of his career in Pakistan and who is described by one of his peers as "the best" on the region. Though he does not identify his sources, the author attributes most of his information to narcotics experts, journalists and underworld sources whom he interviewed inside Pakistan. U.S. officials said he also drew valuable information from his years of experience in the country. A draft of the report was provided to *Newsday* by a government official on condition the official and the author remain anonymous. The report is being circulated among intelligence analysts, some of whom disagree with some of the conclusions, according to administration officials.

Asked whether the top Pakistani officials at the very least condone the drug trade, Tom O'Grady, the Drug Enforcement Administration's acting chief of heroin investigations, said, "Precisely. It's all involved in corruption." Though he said he personally has not read the report, he said, "I can tell you, the names contained in the report we're aware of."

Jack Blum, a former chief counsel for the Senate narcotics and terrorism subcommittee who testified recently on Pakistan's scandal-ridden Bank of Credit and Commerce International, also agreed that at the core of Pakistan's narcotics problem is corruption. "The most important single problem is government corruption. And from the accounts I've gotten from Pakistanis, the corruption is both in the civilian government and the military. And it's pervasive. It goes right to the top."

The report paints a much bleaker picture of Pakistan's narcotics problem than that presented by the Bush administration, whose State Department told Congress last year that Pakistan was taking "positive steps" to combat heroin. The study's findings could complicate the Clinton administration's task of developing its Pakistani policy—and cause political explosions in a country where elections are scheduled this spring.

Titled "Heroin in Pakistan: Sowing the Wind," the document portrays the country as beset by the "collapse of ethical standards throughout [its] society and institutions. . . . Heroin is becoming the lifeblood of Pakistan's economy and political system. . . . Drug money underpins the black economy, which is now virtually the same size as the legitimate economy."

Asked to comment on the report's conclusions, Zahoar Malik, press attache at the Pakistani embassy here, said, "If you don't mind, this is a stupid report. . . . totally baseless. The president of Pakistan is one of those few people in the Third World who is totally clean."

Malik blamed the heroin problems inside his own

CLA report says heroin is Pakistan's 'lifeblood'

country on Pakistan's role, largely at the behest of the United States, in assisting the Afghan rebels fight against their Soviet occupiers. Afghanistan is the supplier of much of the opium converted by Pakistan drug lords into heroin. "America used us like a . . . condom," he said, and then turned its back on Pakistan by cutting off military aid and sharply reducing economic assistance when the Soviet troops left Afghanistan.

Pakistan, where narcotics trafficking is illegal, does cooperate with U.S. law enforcement agencies, particularly on cases involving international trafficking, and has received millions of dollars in U.S. aid for anti-narcotics programs.

The CIA study discloses that one of the top suspected heroin traffickers, Sohail Zia Butt, is a brother-in-law of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and that "in a country where marriages are alliances of wealth and influence, [Zia Butt's] career has prospered along with those of the Sharif brothers," Nawaz and Shahbaz.

The report says that "as the Sharif family moved into the mainstream of power in Punjab under the patronage of the Army, Sohail Zia Butt used his influence and the untouchability that his associations gave him" to further his alleged heroin enterprises.

It says that another Sharif brother-in-law, Aslam Butt, functions as Sohail Zia Butt's "ambassador" to other drug mafias and that a third suspected heroin trafficker, Haji Iqbal Butt, "is regarded as a close political adviser" to the prime minister.

"These men are all far more than casual or marginal members of the Sharif entourage," the document discloses. "Whenever the Prime Minister visits his home in Lahore, he and his brother meet with these men both for business and recreational purposes."

The document says that Pakistan's leading heroin baron, Malik Muhammad Ayub Khan Afridi, also known as Haji Ayub Zakha Khel, "is deeply interconnected in all the key institutions of power in Pakistan, including military intelligence, the presidency and the ruling coalition." It says he offered up to \$2,000 a vote to win his seat in the national legislature.

The report says that although Ayub Zakha Khel is "known to be the King of Khyber Heroin, [he] attends the National Assembly without the slightest fear of arrest, has access to the most powerful of the land, and spends lavishly on entertaining the people who count."

Ayub Zakha Khel also enjoys direct access to President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the report says, suggesting that the heroin baron has benefited from this access. It notes that after the previous government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto issued warrants for his arrest in 1988 on narcotics charges, he eluded capture for two years. When her government fell in 1990, the new government "promptly quashed the warrants for his arrest," the document says.

The currently ruling political party, the conservative Islamic Democratic Alliance, has routinely tapped narcotics traffickers to bankroll campaigns, the study says, and so did the ruling parties of previous administrations.

One Pakistani leader whom the study absolves of involvement in the drug trade is the late dictator, Zia ul-Haq, who died in an airplane explosion in 1988. "Even today few question his personal honesty," the

Central Asia's Drug Bazaar

By Nancy Lubin

In at least one area, the move toward a free market in the former Soviet Union may be succeeding. But this is hardly good news for the West.

The new states, especially those in Central Asia, have been nurturing two of the most profitable capitalist activities: organized crime and narcotics trafficking. Unfortunately, the Bush Administration has largely ignored these disturbing developments. President-elect Bill Clinton would do well to make their containment part of his policy toward the former Soviet Union.

It is conceivable that the already unstable Central Asian nations, with a largely Muslim population of 50 million people, and in the case of Kazakhstan, the site of a nuclear weapons arsenal, will become major international drug suppliers. In the last few years, cultivation of the opium poppy (as well as marijuana and hashish) has increased four- to tenfold, according to sources there, and may cover as much as 300,000 acres.

Although this figure has not been independently verified, it would make these new countries second only to Burma in opium-growing. With the breakdown of authority from Moscow and the new permeability of borders, drug trafficking from Central Asia to Europe has soared. As one Central Asian expert put it, "We may well be witnessing the emergence of the new 'Colombia of Europe' — only this time possessing nuclear weapons."

Seeking the hard-currency profits that drugs can bring, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan last winter legalized the growing of opium for medicinal purposes. Although Kyrgyzstan rescinded the decision within weeks, Kazakhstan did not, and President Nursultan Nazarbayev told me personally that it is in his country's interest to allow some opium-growing.

But officials also seem to acknowledge the near impossibility of stopping illegal production once a portion has been legalized. Many fear that the increasing influence of organized crime and local cartels could lead to further instability at home and a surge of heroin to the West.

This problem has been in the making for some time. But the State Department's annual International Narcotics Control Strategy Report — including a midyear update in September — does not even mention ex-Soviet Central Asia, although the re-

port devotes sections to countries where drug production and trafficking are relatively insignificant.

Congressional sources have advised that, as of last summer, no one in the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics Matters was assigned full time to the former Soviet Union, let alone Central Asia, and that agreements involving cooperation in fighting drug trafficking have focused on Russia and the Western republics and been largely devoid of substance.

It is only in the past few months, apparently due in large part to Congressional and media interest, that the Bush Administration has started to pay attention to this problem. But some Central Asians fear that if we begin to take action without having done our homework, we may well end up supporting, rather than undermining, local "godfathers" and "kingpins," as we did in Afghanistan.

As we learned from our failures in Latin America, drug production can be dealt with relatively cheaply if addressed early on. But if ignored, it will undermine the stability of an already shaky region, be a major roadblock to any reform and thus endanger America's own national security.

The "war on drugs" and the establishment of stable democratic states in the former Soviet Union were supposedly top priorities of the past Administration. With roughly \$12 billion going for our war on drugs and roughly \$400 million set for the former Soviet Union, far more foresight and creativity are needed. □

Nancy Lubin, a fellow of the U.S. Institute of Peace, is a professor in the international peace and security program at Carnegie Mellon University.

NYT 11/16/92

To the Editor:

Reading Nancy Lubin's article "Central Asia's Drug Bazaar" (Op-Ed, Nov. 16), one gets the impression that the Afghan freedom fighters have undergone a metamorphosis. The same people who were hailed as the soldiers of freedom and champions of liberty have suddenly been transformed into "godfathers" and "kingpins" of a drug market.

In light of the fact that the situation in Afghanistan, a country that undeniably has suffered the greatest from the cold war period, is largely being discounted by the world community, statements like those by Professor Lubin only deepen the wounds of our

Cont. from p. 25

report says. "But he did have men in his entourage who used their positions to promote criminal interests, including narcotics."

"Two of his pilots used presidential aircraft to smuggle heroin — one to the United States during a state visit," the report discloses with no further elaboration.

Not all the heroin money goes into personal or party coffers. The study cites "numerous reports" that Pakistan's powerful military intelligence agency, the Inter Services Intelligence Directorate, used drug money to fund groups it supports in neighboring conflicts. These reports, the document says, are that the ISI "used heroin profits to help finance the war in Afghanistan (against the former Soviet Union) and has developed similar arrangements with Sikh militants in India and Mashmuri insurgents in Indian-controlled Kashmir."

One heroin baron doesn't even bother to go through the ISI to fund the Sikh separatists. The report claims that a member of the Punjab assembly, Chaudhury Shaukat Ali Bhatti, "moves virtually all the heroin getting across the Punjab border into India."

The region is controlled at night by Sikh militants, who help smuggle the drug into India. "Bhatti keeps the Sikh militants 'honest' by giving them access to arms," the report says. For example, it quotes an underworld source as saying that Bhatti last May brokered a \$375,000 arms deal between merchants from Dara Adam Khel, the center of Pakistan's cottage gun-making industry, and the Sikh separatists.

Although the Koran, Islam's holy book, prohibits narcotics use, the document notes that Muslim religious scholars in the opium-growing areas of Pakistan several years ago put out "fatwas," or legal opinions based on Islamic law, "pronouncing the cultivation of poppy and production of heroin as lawful, provided the drug was not aimed at Muslim consumers."

Limiting the distribution to non-Muslims, however, has been impossible. And Pakistan, which in 1980 had virtually no heroin addicts, now has between 2 million and 3 million addicts, of 117.5 million people, according to knowledgeable administration officials.

Newsday 2/23

people. As a country whose losses are not even tallied, Afghanistan deserves a little more than the repeated misinformation that has been collected about it since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Professor Lubin's article would have been more constructive if it had taken the drug problem, which does exist in the area, into a proper perspective and not inserted the Afghan case without any substance or proof.

It is a cause for frustration to our people to see that after fighting for 14 years as defenders of freedom and liberty, not only in Afghanistan but also as a contributor to the freedom movements and consequent liberation of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself, the only legacy that remains is the association with drugs. Only with a sound economic and social infrastructure can the drug problem be eradicated in any society. Afghanistan should not become an example of how things went wrong; those who supported a valiant people should help them establish an example to be followed. AMIN H. TARZI

Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of Afghanistan to the U.N.
New York, Nov. 24, 1992

NYT 12/12/92

LETTERS

WETHERSFIELD HIGH SCHOOL

Model U.N.
Wethersfield Chapter
Afghanistan Group

I. Background:

To the Editor:

Let me please first of all thank you for offering first hand insight stories about my beloved country Afghanistan. As you know the situation in Afghanistan is changing very rapidly. Though the changes do not look to be for better, but I hope the UN & peace-loving countries, the very first one being the United States of America, with her long history of democracy & defending democratic movements around the world, will very soon realize the need of taking a measure in that war-torn country, & help that nation with bringing peace to it.

A couple months ago, a group of model UN students of Wethersfield High School visited the UN & learned in detail about the situation in Afghanistan. The students brought about recommendations & a resolution, which a copy was sent to the General Secretariat of the UN & Afghanistan's representative to the UN. I would like to send you a copy of it also, to be published in the Afghanistan Forum.

...I would like to add that I am an Afghan, a student in Wethersfield High School, & I was also a member of the model UN group.

I would like to keep Afghanistan Forum as a historical document for my future. Therefore, please mail me your future issues & I will mail you the annual subscription immediately. I also would like to know if you have a different rate for students.

Sincerely,
Malalai Wassil

Because of the latest developments in communication, the advent of the information age and the leaving behind of the Cold War era, events have encouraged the American people to get more involved in learning global politics, global peace and the abuse of human rights in other parts of the world.

In 1992, a large number of high schools in the State of Connecticut made a joint effort to learn about the United Nations and its role in world affairs.

The students organized groups to study certain conditions in specific countries. On November 1992, the students visited the United Nations. During the trip, the students received a tour and useful information from noted diplomats.

The students of Wethersfield High School were interested in Afghanistan's problems and the role of the United Nations in these problems. The group was welcomed by Amin Tarzi, the second secretary to the Afghan mission.

Mr. Tarzi provided the group with a general view of the current problems in Afghanistan, such as civil unrest and economic difficulties. At the end of the briefing, Mr. Tarzi answered questions in specific detail.

The group learned that Afghanistan has been torn apart during the last fourteen years. Currently, no central government exists and neighboring countries have endangered the unity of the nation by interfering in the country's affairs.

The students learned about the violation of women's rights in Afghanistan. The women and children are subject to abuse from military officials.

The present government in Afghanistan came to power through a collusion of unknown identities and former communist leaders. According to sources from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Islamabad, the latest fighting between rival groups has forced eight hundred thousand people to leave Kabul City for Jelaalabad and Pakistan.

The present authority has only created more problems with their slaughtering of innocent civilians. The students of Wethersfield High School strongly believe that the United Nations should take control of the situation in Afghanistan before conditions become similar to that in Somalia.

In view of the above mentioned facts, the students representing Afghanistan would like to share their feelings with the United Nations and ask General Secretary Mr. Boutros-Boutros Gali to consider our recommendations in designing a comprehensive peace plan for Afghanistan.

II. Resolutions and Recommendations:

1. The United Nations must guarantee the sovereignty, territorial integration, political independence and the nonaligned character of Afghanistan, and to bring peace to the people of that war torn nation.
2. Outside intervention in the country's domestic affairs must be stopped.
3. A temporary interim government must be established by calling for a traditional council known as the "Great Council", to establish law and order in the country and to make conditions possible for a chance to choose a democratic form of government.
4. The Afghan Mujahideen were armed by the United States and other countries against the Red Army. Since the Soviet forces have left the country, we believe the United Nations should disarm the soldiers and collect the weapons, so that they behave not as bandits, but as normal members of society.
5. The economic aid which was given to the refugees and the Mujahideen by the United Nations and the United States government was misused by Pakistan and six Afghan leaders. We request that the United Nations check on the given aid and confiscate the unused money from the savings accounts of the corrupt leaders and use it for the reconstruction of Afghanistan.
6. Previously, Afghanistan's currency was printed in the United Kingdom. After the communist takeover, the printing operation went to the Soviet Union, presently Russia. The printing of currency must be transferred from Russia to a country where the printing is under the supervision of the United Nations until a legal government of the people comes into existence.
7. The latest refugees which were forced to flee the ethnic clashes in Kabul City are mostly the educated segment of Afghan society. They are in desperate need of the United Nations help. We suggest the United Nations provide such help.
8. The United Nations should provide help for the Afghan people in neutralizing the several million mines planted by the Red Army in Afghanistan.
9. The United Nations should help in the safe return of the five million refugees back to their country from Pakistan and Iran, and help Afghanistan with its reconstruction.

December 29, 1992

To the Editor:

To the Editor:

The PERFECT JIHAD came to an end in Afghanistan when the Mujahid entered Kabul this past Spring of 1992. The Jihad for the reconstruction of the country is there for years to come.

I request that future funds (& other forms of assistance) collected for Afghanistan be sent to the Red Crescent of Afghanistan, Kabul. The particular expenses to be undertaken by the Red Crescent can be specified by the donor. Any other channel for the distribution of assistance (like the various groups of Mujahidin & militias of Afghanistan), under the present circumstances, will have clouds of doubt over it. Some assistance dispensed since the coming of the Mujahid to Kabul in April 1992, through channels other than the Red Crescent, could have contributed to the murder of the innocent Afghan Muslims.

M. Mobin Shorish
Urbana, Illinois

We can solve the problem by eliminating its causes.

"The cow will be slaughtered improperly when there are too many butchers". This is a meaningful proverb which applies to the recent situation in Afghanistan. The cause of the problem in Afghanistan is the plethora of political parties, and logically a problem can't be solved until the cause of the problem is not eliminated.

We have noticed that the failure of the Mojahideen during the past 14 years has been due to mutual disagreement between the various political parties. They enjoyed success only when a great number of the opposite forces stood by them, but they couldn't establish a powerful and authoritative government, because of the involvement of different parties with different ideas, and the accumulation of the political parties caused the problems. These problems could be solved by taking the following steps:

The recent political parties should be divided into two groups:
A- Fundamentalists
B- Moderates

Of course both groups will have a number of adherents and opponents in the society with full political and civil right to vote for the establishment of the government by the logic of "minority follows the majority".

If the various fundamentalist parties merge with each other, and form one party with a single policy, and if the moderate parties merge with each other with full unity and a single policy, the excess of parties will be abolished and there will be two strong parties. In conclusion each Afghan can decide "whose drum to dance to". But it is essential here to eliminate the greatest enemy of national unity which is the problem of Shiite and Sunnite.

After the establishment of the above two parties, their elected representatives as a joint committee should draft an election law. In drafting this law, some problems will appear. For example, the fundamentalists will insist to deprive the women of voting in general election, while the moderates may want to grant this right to the women. To solve these kind of problems, attention should be paid to the following points:

- 1- The committee should be formed from a group of scholars and educated persons.
- 2- References should be made to Islamic Laws, to the wishes of the nation and to the experiences of Islamic Countries.
- 3- The consultation of other scholars who are not members of the committee, should be procured.
- 4- There may be other ways to help that haven't come to mind, so others may want to suggest further means of supplementing this plan.

In general election the party with the majority of votes would form the government, while the second party would assume the role of monitor and critic with full political and civil rights.

In general, the only solution to these problems is to decrease the number of parties to two powerful and authoritative parties in order to avoid the dispersal of votes, and to form a powerful and most authoritative government.

Kabir A. Ahang
Chicago, IL 60645

To the Editor: Unfriendly Friends of Afghanistan

As a long-time subscriber of the Afghanistan Forum, I opened my January 1993 issue which also included a copy of the Occasional Paper. I could not help but cast my eyes over the picture of King Amān Allah peeking from the cover window. The title of the Paper seemed intriguing, "Amanullah: The Hard Case of Reform in Afghanistan," written by, as I posited, a scholar of Afghanistan of whom I had not heard. My skeptical side, lately the more powerful side of my mind, pulled the alarm cords within the train of my thought. Slow down, it commanded, use caution, read the contents of this article, then get excited. Even if the skeptical side of my mind had not cautioned me, I saw the Prefatory Note which read: "This is not a scholarly analysis." But the essay suggested to be "suggestive, comparative, prolegomenous," intended for "friends of Afghanistan." I must haste, I said to myself, if nothing else, I am, or at least think I am, a friend of Afghanistan. The unscholarly nature of the essay is identified as the fact that quotes are not used properly; the sources are entirely secondary; and that it is not complete.

I read the tract once, I was stupefied. Did I see things correctly, or was I after all in haste, going through the material much too quickly. I decided to re-read it, this time with a highlighter in hand. When I finished, almost the entire work was bright yellow.

I am wondering what it is this piece is trying to suggest? If it is written for someone with a certain degree of knowledge of Afghan history in the past century, this work is an insult to their intelligence. For those who know nothing of the subject, there are more questions than there are answers. Information is piled at random from Marxism to modernism and from Melville to Mir Munshi (whose name happens to be Sulṭān Muḥammad).

Mr. Overby concludes than Amān Allah's "failures" still haunt the Afghans as they "try to deal with science." Let us be serious for a moment! What really the Afghans are trying to deal with is how to cope with those adventurers, domestic and foreign, that have come and gone over and by Afghanistan without ever having been in the country in a socio-historical sense.

I cannot imagine that Mr. Overby's license to write about the subject of modernization at the time of King Amān Allah comes from research on the theory of modernization as his prolegomenon on this theory comes from a third source. Then, it must be that the subject is not modernization but rather the reign of King Amān Allah; therefore, modernization, which according to Mr. Overby, can only be seen in the scientific realm is a secondary subject. If so, may I suggest that Mr. Overby himself become a friend of Afghanistan and begin reading a little deeper into the historical development of the region.

Amin H. Tarzi
New York, NY

Boutros Boutros-Ghali,
Secretary-General, United Nations,
New York, N.Y. 10021,
Your Excellency:

January 25, 1993

Since the collapse of the Communist regime in Afghanistan, and the installment of a new Islamic government, the situation in my native country is deteriorating every day. Factions fight solely for the purpose of grabbing power for themselves. Nearly 40,000 of my fellow-Afghans have been killed or wounded since April of 1992, and 500,000 have fled from the capital of Kabul, once beautiful but now a ruin. There is no food, no electricity, no water, no medical facility. People die from lack of these things.

The present regime is unable to bring peace and tranquillity. Robbing, plundering, killing take place constantly, for there is no security in the city. Already Afghanistan is divided into several regions, each ruled by a military commander. Behind the scenes surviving officials of the former Communist regime, such as Babrak Karmal, fan the flames, as do the neighboring countries.

We do not wish Afghanistan to become another Yugoslavia or Somalia. At present the United Nations is turning a deaf ear to the problems of Afghanistan. Once in a while the mere presence of United Nations in a country will warn ambitious leaders to be careful about taking aggressive action.

Previously United Nations had a plan for bringing peace to Afghanistan, which included democratic elections supervised by United Nations. We should like to see that plan, with modifications, implemented. Eventually it will be too late. Already various groups vying for power are forcing Afghans from their country. There is a vacuum of leadership, since the present government is helpless outside Kabul.

We ask United Nations to take immediate action toward a peaceful solution, restoring order and security...at first in Kabul and eventually in the entire country..

Inshallah
Yar Mohammed Kunsar

Bamian Village in Ridgewood FOOD

By CHARLES and JENNIFER MONAGHAN

One of the great pleasures of dining out is the opportunity to encounter another culture through its food. Some cuisines — Italian, Chinese, Spanish, Japanese, French — have become so familiar, and so adapted to American tastes, that they've become part of the American culinary landscape.

"Thai food has not yet really been 'discovered,'" nor has Korean, although there are numerous Thai and Korean restaurants in our area. Now you can add another undiscovered cuisine to that list. It's served at an Afghan restaurant called Bamian Village, on Chestnut Street in the heart of Ridgewood.

The restaurant takes its name from a village and rich archaeological site on the main caravan route in the heart of Afghanistan. Bamian is famous for two gigantic statues of the Buddha hewn out of solid rock, one of them 175 feet high.

The restaurant is a handsome place. Its long, narrow rooms on two levels, is warmed by a dusty rose ceiling and paler-toned walls. (If you are in a wheelchair, a mini-elevator can take you down to the lower level.) Crimson and earth-colored Afghan rugs of intriguing patterns decorate the walls and floor. In front by the window, you can dine in a cozy nook with low tables and cushions, just like a Mogul emperor, but most customers eat at regular tables.

DINING OUT

Geographically, Afghanistan, which borders Iran on the west and Pakistan on the south, is at the crossroads between the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent. The cuisine seems to combine dishes associated with the Middle East (rice pilafs, here called "palaws," and kebabs) with elements of Pakistani and Indian cooking, such as stuffed pastries (*sambosa*) and curry-style dishes.

The big difference is that there is no heat in Afghan dishes: rather, an emphasis on sophisticated and delicate spicing. Diners can experience the exotic without burning their tongues.

There is a wide variety of dishes containing lamb and chicken, but also a good choice of vegetarian entrees, emphasizing ingredients such as pumpkin, eggplant, and spinach.

We highly commend the lamb dishes, which are all beautifully done. In particular, the *ghazni* kebab is a treat. It resembles the kebabs of Middle Eastern countries, with the lamb skewered with pieces of tomato, green pepper, and onion. But the lamb is terrific and the Afghan spices add a certain subtle something to the ensemble.

If you prefer less meat, the palaws might fill the bill. The spiced rice has an attractive taste and the pieces of lamb or chicken are juicy

and delicately flavored. If you want to go completely vegetarian, try the *chalow* *baunjan*, sautéed eggplant topped with yogurt, accompanied by white rice. It has a sweet and fresh taste.

A party of four or so can sample the gamut of tastes and ingredients at Bamian Village by ordering the Bamian Combination of all four appetizers — pastries filled with beef, scallions, chickpeas, and more — and by asking for the special combination of three vegetable side dishes, chosen from among carrots, spinach, eggplant, or pumpkin.

Desserts are few. There is a light Afghan pudding with almonds and pistachios that resembles the English dessert *blancmange*, and a tasty *baklava* (another Middle Eastern staple). But the most unusual entry bears the wonderful name *gosh e feel*. This is similar to the deep-fried Italian dessert called *crosticelli*, but comes in the form of a single crisp pancake lightly sprinkled with cardamom, chopped pistachios, and confectioners' sugar.

The restaurant is crowded on weekend nights and draws a respectable clientele even during the week. The reason is simple. The bill is mercifully low: It is easy to dine well for less than \$20 a person (partially because you have to bring your own wine). And the food is wholesome, carefully cooked, and mildly exotic. Bamian

Bamian Village

23 Chestnut St.
Ridgewood
670-4334

Prices: Lunch \$5.75 to \$7.75;
dinner entrees \$9.25 to \$14.95

Credit cards: AE, MC, V

Reservations: Yes

Days closed: Sunday

Liquor/wine available: No

Facilities for the disabled:
Yes

Area for non-smokers: Yes

Atmosphere: Casual

Rated by The Record:

Jan. 15, 1993

Restaurants are rated on the quality of their food, atmosphere, and service. Half-stars are given when a restaurant surpasses a star level in food, service, or ambience.

| | |
|------|-------------|
| ● | Poor |
| ★ | Fair |
| ★★ | Good |
| ★★★ | Excellent |
| ★★★★ | Outstanding |

Village is an excellent addition to the United Nations of restaurants in northern Jersey.

The Bergen Record
n.d.

A Table Fit for an Afghan Tribal Chief

By JOANNE STARKEY

SAY goodbye to the Colonel and hello to an Afghan adventure. The former Kentucky Fried Chicken franchise on Sunrise Highway in Massapequa Park is now the Afghan Samovar restaurant.

Once inside, diners are hard pressed to see any evidence of the fast-food origins. The restaurant is a tiny gem sparkling with candlelight, white tablecloths, Oriental rugs and plush banquettes. Color photographs of Afghanistan, brass and copper plates, woven baskets and Afghan posters dot the walls.

A wide expanse of plate glass has been transformed by velvet-covered wood cutouts into Middle Eastern-style arched windows. The former takeout counter, now festooned with green plants and large jars of colorful pickled vegetables, provides glimpses of the kitchen.

The dining room is toastily, despite a front door that opens directly into the room. Revving up the warmth are space heaters, including a corner gas stove with atmospheric visible flames.

The staff is well meaning, sweet and helpful in describing unfamiliar dishes, but understanding and communication were often in doubt. Despite bows, smiles and nods of assent, requests sometimes had to be repeated more than once.

Diners can eat like Afghan tribal chiefs for very little money at this charming exotic restaurant. The average entree price is \$9, and that includes a salad. To round out the feast, there are superb appetizers for \$3, and at meal's end try a plate of a mixed Middle Eastern pastries for \$2.50.

Soft drinks are \$1. At this early date, the restaurant has no liquor license, but customers may take their own wine, providing an added economy.

A basket of warm flat rectangular Afghan bread accompanies the salads. Although those salads are

Afghan Samovar

Very Good

4994 Sunrise Highway, two miles west of Route 110,

Massapequa Park 788-9000

Atmosphere: Tiny Afghan jewel

Service: Sweet, well meaning, sometimes confused

Recommended dishes: Badjenian buranee, sambos,

manoo, all desserts, spinach stew, lamb kebab,

ground beef kebab, chicken kebab, Cornish hen

Price range: Appetizers, \$2 to \$3; entrees, \$8.45 to \$14

Lunch prices are 15 percent lower.

Credit cards: Diners Club, others applied for

Hours: Noon to 10 P.M. Sundays, 11:30 A.M. to 10 P.M.

Tuesdays through Thursday and 11:30 A.M. to 11 P.M.

Fridays and Saturdays, Closed Mondays

Reservations: Recommended weekdays

Wheelchair accessibility: No steps

Ratings:

Poor

Satisfactory

Good

Very Good

Excellent

Extraordinary

Ratings are based on the reviewer's reaction to food

and price in relation to comparable establishments.

small and contain mainly iceberg lettuce, they are also crisp, cold and sport a tangy mayonnaise-vinegar dressing peppered up with herbs.

Three of the menu's four appetizers are dynamic. The lone loser is the vegetable platter, an uninspired assemblage of unadorned whole raw radishes and scallions, cucumber slices, a wedge of iceberg lettuce and a cube of feta cheese.

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seasoned slices of meat-in-the-mouth eggplant set over a yogurt sauce.

One evening a tiny pitcher filled with a zippy mint sauce accompanied the appetizers. The spicy mixture of onions, mint, hot red peppers and herbs is worth remembering and requesting.

The soft soup offered is aush. The Afghan Samovar version is filled with kidney beans, chickpeas, tiny macabals and pasta, but is nevertheless dull and uninspired.

Kebabs are king at entree time. All are served with a mountain of wonderful every-grain-separate basmati rice and a garnish of pickled vegetables. The most juicy chicken and the flavorful marinated lamb are the top here. A vividly seasoned ground-meat kebab is also noteworthy.

The beef and fillet mignon kebabs, however, were overcooked, dry and chewy. Also listed with the kebabs was a standout offering of Cornish hen. The succulent chunks of meat, still on the bone, had been rubbed with saffron and other seasonings before being grilled.

Marinated lamb chops, which are usually the pick of the menu at Afghan restaurants, were not available on the night's 15 listed.

Afghan stew was a showing, though. The restaurant offers three varieties. One features eggplant and lamb, another combines spinach and mutton, and the third is all meat. We sampled the spinach, a flavorful casserole of tender lamb chunks, chickpeas and soothing spinach in a rich herb-infused brown gravy. A platter piled high with fluffy white rice was in attendance.

Desserts are delicious honey-soaked creations. There is a first cousin to Greek baklava plus two others. The last is a deep-fried rose. We sampled the honey and soft-spiced pastry balls given a similar drizzling. One evening there was also a lush rosewater-perfumed pudding sprinkled with pistachio nuts that provided a pleasing counterpart to the pastries. The New York Times

Long Island Section 1/17

As you are aware of the fact that the situation in our beloved country - Afghanistan, is deteriorating and is out of control, and the warring faction for the sake of grabbing power fighting each other in the heart of Kabul "Capitol".

South-Eastern Kabul, walled houses - apartment, hitting government military bases- adoh building and embassies.

The unlawful present Government forces fired on HEZBE-ISLAMI and WAHDAT still holds on the western edge of the city - war planes bombed HEZBE-ISLAMI houses to the South and East. At least one thousand have been killed or injured since the fighting started on January 19, 1993 and fighting has intensified at the Capitol. In this icy, cold winter thousands have fled the city to save their lives.

The government forces plundered the AF-SHAR area of the Capitol and the HAZARA did the same thing in the other areas. Many innocent civilians lost their lives. There is no electricity, water, fuel, food, or medicine - hundreds of children are dying from pneumonia and malnutrition. Doctors and nurses fled the city and there is no blood or hospital beds for the sick and wounded.

The U.N. and other foreign legation evacuated their personnel and chaotic situations prevailed all over the country. The neighboring countries, communist regimes leaders and elements fan the flame.

The U.N. and the Security Council turned deaf ears to the Afghan problem. If the U.N. and the Security Council do not initiate an emergency plan for restoring peace, law, and order in Afghanistan than there will be another Somalia and Yugoslavia in Central Asia. Today is Somalia, Bosnia, tomorrow is Afghanistan. The U.N. could put pressure on warring factions "greedy for power" and intervene and have peace and stability in Kabul. We call upon BUTROUS-GHALI for intervention for humanitarian purposes as well as the Security Council of the U.N. to fulfill its global responsibility for the restoration of peace in the world.

If they can implement their plans in Somalia, Yugoslavia, Angola, and Cambodia, they can certainly revive their peace initiative in Afghanistan and bring free elections under the supervision of U.N. and install a Democratic Government in Afghanistan. At the same time a Loya Jerga as traditional Grand Assembly should convene through supervision of the U.N. - non-align countries and Islamic countries as well.

I call upon the U.S. government and the U.N. Security Council as well as the richest countries of the world to step in and save the Afghan nation and her territorial integrity; otherwise the cost of peace, restoring the world, and saving the lives of Afghan will be horrendous.

Sincerely,

Yar M. Koshar

Pakistan hails private groups mediation in Afghanistan

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent

ISLAMABAD, Feb. 17: A Foreign Office spokesman said here today Pakistan Government had no objection to private Pakistani groups helping the Afghan leaders in Kabul in restoration of peace and reconciliation.

These groups had gone to Kabul on their own in a bid to bring about a ceasefire amongst the warring Afghan factions, he said while answering questions on the visit to the Afghan capital by Jamat-i-Islami chief Qazi Hussain Ahmed and former chief of Inter-Services Intelligence Agency Lieutenant-General (Retired) Hamid Gul.

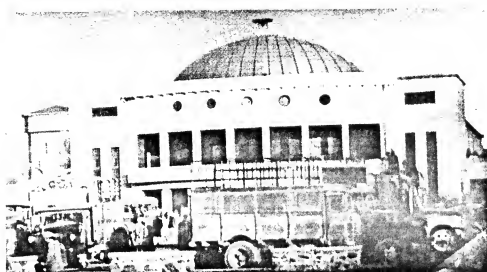
Though they did not have government blessings, the government appreciated their initiative, the spokesman said, emphasising that what the government wanted was a durable ceasefire in Kabul.

The government would welcome such initiatives not only from private groups but by other governments also, he said and in this connection mentioned the efforts being made individually and collectively by the governments of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Pakistan government at its own level was continuing its efforts for achieving a stable ceasefire in Afghanistan. This was being done at the diplomatic level, he said without elaborating.

He, however, regretted that so far the ceasefire had not proved durable despite all these multi-sided efforts.

Asked the comment on reports that President Burhanuddin Rabbani had decided to step down from the presidency, he said these reports were speculative.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

WORST

CENSORSHIP

Afghanistan In May, the nation's new Islamic censors reportedly closed the movie theaters (including one showing the pro-Afghani *Rambo III*) and ordered a packed house watching a kung fu movie to leave the theater immediately, go to a mosque, and pray. Said co-owner Azizullah Mohammed to the AP: "This is bad for business."

PT 2/18

JI chief leaves for Kabul

Qazi to help evolve conciliatory formula for permanent peace

By Anwar Iqbal and Ismail Khan

ISLAMABAD: Another peace delegation left Pakistan for Kabul Monday for talks with the warring Afghan factions amid reports that President Burhanuddin Rabbani has agreed to step down.

Diplomatic and Afghan sources in Islamabad said Rabbani has agreed to step down but not immediately, as his rival Gulbadin Hekmatyar demands.

Instead, he wants the nine main mujahideen parties to finalise a future administrative set up before he quits. He has also proposed to stay in power for another year and then hold elections, as Hekmatyar's Hezb-i-Islami demands.

A Hezb-i-Islami spokesman denied the news report from Kabul which said Hekmatyar has agreed to let Rabbani rule for another year.

"As far as we are concerned, he is an illegitimate ruler and we want him to quit as pre-condition for our talks with his Jamiat-i-Islami party," the spokesman said.

Despite this tough stand, mujahideen sources in Islamabad, said Hekmatyar seemed willing to share power with Rabbani's party. He has already agreed to give the group an equal share with other parties in any future administrative set up but is unwilling to recognise Rabbani as the sole ruler.

Meanwhile, Rabbani has asked one of Hekmatyar's allies in Pakistan, the Jama'at-e-Islami, to negotiate peace between him and his rival.

The Jama'at chief, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, flew to Kabul Monday with an eight-member delegation on a special plane sent by the Afghan government.

The delegation included Jamaat's Naib Amir Professor Khurshid Ahmad, provincial Jama'at chiefs from Sindh and Balochistan, Maulana Jan Mohammad Abbasi and Maulana Abdul Haq Baluch, Amir of Jama'at-e-Islami, Peshawar district, Shabbir Ahmad Khan, Professor Mohammad Ibrahim, Dr Murad Ali Shah and Haji Iqbal. Rabbani's special envoy Syed Noorullah Emad, who had come from Kabul to fetch them, also went with the delegation.

Qazi had a lengthy meeting with the US ambassador in Pakistan, John F Monjo, before his departure for Kabul. JI sources said Monjo, who drove to Qazi's headquarters in La-

hore, indicated a change in US Afghan policy during the talks.

The US was previously unwilling to accept Hekmatyar as a major partner in any government in Kabul because of his "fundamentalist" beliefs.

However, the US attitude apparently changed after Rabbani's January 19 offensive to oust Hekmatyar from Kabul's surroundings failed.

The Americans, the sources said, also observed a change in Hekmatyar's attitude towards other moderate Afghan groups including the militia of General Rasheed Dostum.

Diplomatic sources in Islamabad said Hekmatyar now appeared willing to negotiate a future arrangement with Dostum.

Meanwhile, the warring factions in Kabul officially enforced a ceasefire from Monday morning to help the peace talks. The truce was negotiated by former ISI chief General Hameed Gul. While talking to The News at Peshawar airport the Jama'at leader said: "We are on a conciliatory mission, I'm hopeful."

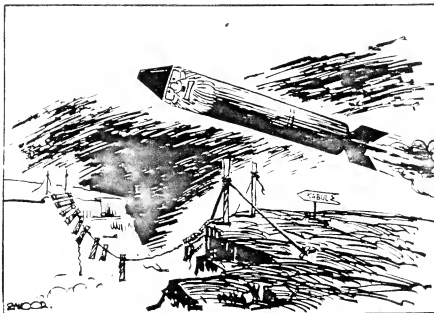
Senator Qazi Hussain Ahmad felt, the restoration of peace, installation of an interim government and holding of elections were the need of the hour.

He said he would hold talks with all mujahideen factions and find out their views on ways to bring them together. He said he was in contact with the Shi'ite Hezb-e-Wahdat and would evolve a "conciliatory formula" after holding consultations with all Mujahideen parties.

To a question on the future of militia chief General Rahid Dostum, the JI leader expressed his inability to comment on the matter before holding talks with Hekmatyar and Rabbani. Qazi Hussain Ahmad said he would also hold meeting with the former ISI chief to evaluate the situation in Kabul.

Noorullah Emad said the JI leader's visit to Kabul was aimed at restoring peace and effecting a durable ceasefire between the warring factions. He described the Peshawar accord as "most successful" adding that only Hekmatyar and Hezb-i-Wahdat had violated it. He disclosed that the new Afghan cabinet would be sworn in towards the end of current week or early next week, after the formation of a parliament.

Earlier, JI leader held a detail meeting with Noorullah Emad. An-



other round of talks was also held between then two leaders and Hezb leaders in Peshawar, Nawab Salim and Haji Parid. The JI Amir is believed to have consulted Mian Muhammad Tufail, a veteran JI leader and discussed with him the current situation in Afghanistan.

The delegation was seen off at the Peshawar airport by Hezb-e-Islami leaders, and Afghan consul in Peshawar, Muhammad Zahir. The delegation also include some Saudi officials. Another JI delegation left by road for Jalalabad.

Frontier
Post 2/17

News (Pakistan) 2/16



What about peace in Pakistan?

News (Pakistan) 2/17

The "Afghans" - an Islamic time bomb

A spectre is stalking the Muslim world – it is the "Afghans". The reference is not to the people of Afghanistan but to the members of the Islamic "International Brigade" recruited from many Muslim countries that fought alongside the Afghan Mujahedin and now, after the expulsion of the Russians, are looking for new *jihad*s to fight.

They seem to have found just such a cause in Bosnia, where it is estimated that there are around 1,000 Muslim volunteers calling themselves "Mujahedin" (MEI 434). Drawn from half a dozen Arab countries they are there, as they see it, to frustrate the Euro-American plot to stamp out any possibility of a Muslim state being set up in the Balkans.

The anti-Americanism of these "Afghans" is bitterly ironic because it was the US, working locally through Saudi Arabia, which encouraged Arab Islamists to volunteer for service in Afghanistan in the '80s. They were recruited from a variety of Arab countries – notably Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Iraq, as well as Iran. Saudi Arabia was for many North African volunteers the point of departure for Pakistan and then Afghanistan. It was the Saudis who provided them with air transport and subsequent financing, it was Saudi Arabia and Pakistan (as a conduit for the CIA) which provided them with arms and Pakistani military training.

Since this whole operation was clandestine, precise figures for the number of mujahedin are not available, but since it is known that the Pakistan embassy in Algeria alone issued 2,800 visas to volunteers, the overall figure was likely to have been over 5,000.

Their headquarters were in Peshawar, where most gave their allegiance and support to the Hizb-i Islami of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, rigidly orthodox and fiercely puritanical, in which their Islamic radicalism would have been fortified.

Therefore, at the end of the war against the Russians, the thousands of the mujahedin would, as a group, have had these characteristics: an exalted sense of Islamic purpose and of total commitment to a great Islamic cause; high morale; a firm belief that God was on their side; military training with sophisticated US-made weapons; combat experience in arduous conditions. Taken together these qualities would make of the "Afghans" a formidable force for change, in an Islamic direction, against conservative, traditional Middle East governments, or any other Muslim government, already engaged in struggles for power with local Islamists.

The outside world became aware of the menace of the "Afghans" when in November 1991 an armed attack was made on a police post in eastern Algeria and the name of the leader of the group was given as Tayib al-Afghani.

The Saudis, facing criticism from Islamic radicals, became aware of the danger fairly early on and so refused to

allow the Saudi "Afghans" to return home, a decision kept very quiet. The Sudanese government alone has welcomed the return of its Afghans, and of others, which has led the Egyptians and the US to ask the government in Khartoum not to give refuge to "Afghans" who might already have been sentenced for anti-government activity in their home countries.

For the Americans the rise of the "Afghan" menace is just one more example of how maladroit they are in choosing local allies. Chosen solely on the basis of expediency and short-term usefulness in support of what is conceived (or misconceived) as America's national interests, these groups accept American money and arms and then, when sufficiently strong, go their own way, often against US interests. For many years the US flirted with Islamic militants in the Middle East because they were anti-Communist: this was the case in Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq and Iran. In Africa one can see the same effect, in US support for Renamo in Mozambique and UNITA in Angola.

Eventually the US and Saudi Arabia, which created the "Afghan" problem, may come to be threatened directly by their creation. But in the meantime it will be governments in the Middle East, and in the Balkans, some of them friends and allies of the West, which will have to tackle this Islamic time bomb.

Godfrey Jansen

MEI — 20 November 1992

Saudi Fighter in Afghanistan Becomes 'Martyr' in Bosnia

By CHRIS HEDGES

Special to The New York Times

JIDDA, Saudi Arabia, Dec. 4 — Majda al-Guttub carefully unfolded a map from a pile of photos and letters and pointed to a circle drawn around an unfamiliar city.

"Travnik," she said, stumbling over the pronunciation. "This is where my son was martyred."

Mrs. Guttub's 29-year-old son, Hussam al-Din al-Sadat, was killed in September, becoming one of about two dozen Saudi men who have died in the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina. His religious fervor, like that of many of the 400 Saudi volunteers, coupled with his disdain for the comforts of his upper-middle-class upbringing, drove him to the war in Afghanistan and then to the Balkans.

Mr. Sadat, who attended prep school in Boston, converted to militant Islam during his freshman year at Pima College in Tucson, Ariz. The strapping 220-pound young man disappeared from the campus in 1987 with a small group of Muslims, including at least one American, to fight with the Islamic rebels in Afghanistan.

Returned Home Wounded

"For four months we looked for him," his mother said, "until officials in the United States told us that he had left the country, probably for Pakistan and then Afghanistan."

One year and seven months later, the young man returned home, gaunt and bearded, suffering from malaria and unhealed wounds. The rudimentary medical treatment he received in Afghanistan left him with large,



Hussam al-Din al-Sadat

discolored scars on his chest and legs. "When we set out the plates of food to eat he would eat only one dish," his mother said. "He kept asking why we had so much, when people in Afghanistan survived on leaves and roots." In

When Mr. Sadat recovered, he returned to Afghanistan, where he became a platoon leader.

"He limped slightly from the wounds for the rest of his life," his older brother Adan said, "and sometimes you could see on his face that he was in pain."

Contrasting Pictures

His mother showed pictures of her son at war. In the photos he was turbaned and dressed in baggy brown pants, often holding a rocket-propelled grenade or an AK-47 assault rifle. Scattered throughout the album were incongruous pictures of another Hussam, a young, chubby boy in a bow tie, jacket and shorts or a stocky, smiling adolescent with his lanky arms wrapped around the shoulders of his American friends.

Something of the old life was never washed from him.

"He thought the Iranian fanatics were nuts," his brother said. "He did not condemn the West. He was deeply religious, but tolerant of those who were different from him."

After the Islamic victory in Afghanistan, the young man came home again. He took a job printing Korans in the city of Medina. But he was restless, uncomfortable in a world without struggle or commitment, and announced in the spring that he was going to fight in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He obtained a certificate from his commanders in Afghanistan listing his experience and presented it to Islamic officials in Jidda who quietly organized travel to the Balkans.

Wanted to Be a Martyr

"He said he wanted to be a martyr, and he asked me to pray for this," his mother said. "But I asked him to leave something of himself behind, that the next generation needed good men, and that his mother needed to have something of her son."

"I found him a wife who was religious," she said. "He left after she was pregnant."

Mr. Sadat went to Bosnia in July. An official from the Islamic Relief Organization called at the end of September and, after reading a verse from the Koran, informed the parents of their son's death. The organization later sent on a few personal affects, including a short note written as he was dying, and a bloodstained patch that identified him as part of the Bosnian Army.

"Pray for the martyr Hussam," he scrawled in a shaky hand at the end of the brief letter.

His son and only child, Abdel Rahman, who inherited his father's green eyes, was born a month ago.

NYT 12/5/92

Man Sought in Killings at C.I.A. May Have Returned to Pakistan

By DOUGLAS J. EHL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11 — The authorities trying to track down the man suspected of killing two Central Intelligence Agency employees said today that they believed he had returned to his home town in Pakistan before fleeing from there several days ago.

American officials said a man using the same last name as the suspect, Mir Aimal Kansil, had flown from Washington to Pakistan on Jan. 26, a day after the attack outside the C.I.A. headquarters. In Quetta, a remote provincial capital in southwest Pakistan, relatives told reporters that Mr. Kansil had returned to the city last month but had departed just before he was identified as the prime suspect in the case.

The relatives told reporters that Mr. Kansil said he was going to Karachi, the nation's largest city, and would travel on to the United States. But The Associated Press said Pakistani law-enforcement officers suspect he might have slipped across the border into Afghanistan or Iran.

New Details Emerge

As Federal and local authorities continued their own investigation in the Washington area, officials said they were seeking confirmation that the man who boarded a flight at National Airport in Washington on Jan. 28 was the same Mr. Kansil of Quetta being sought in the case.

While there is no direct flight from Washington to Pakistan, the authorities said a passenger who gave his name as Hansil had traveled first to New York and then apparently boarded a Pakistan International Airlines flight that leaves on Tuesday nights for Karachi.

As the Pakistani authorities and reporters began to look into the case, new details emerged about Mr. Kansil, who is accused of the Jan. 25 attack on employees waiting in rush-hour traffic to turn their cars into C.I.A. headquarters at McLean, Va.

Mr. Kansil is the 28-year-old son of a wealthy building contractor of the Pashtun Kansil tribe, a small but powerful clan with extensive land holdings that was described as perhaps the most prosperous in the province of Baluchistan. Mr. Kansil, who was born and reared in Quetta, received a master's degree in English literature from Baluchistan University in Quetta.

His friends and relatives told reporters that Mr. Kansil had moved to the United States in 1991 after growing restless in Pakistan.

Manhunt in Pakistan

The Pakistani Government promised to track down Mr. Kansil and return him to the United States for trial. Interior Minister Shujat Hussain, who met with a senior American diplomat to discuss the case, said his Government had begun a nationwide manhunt for Mr. Kansil and would be assisted

beginning next week by a team from the Federal Bureau of Investigation that will travel to Pakistan.

Although they said they had little foundation for their theory, some American authorities said the proximity of Mr. Kansil's home town to the Afghan border led them to wonder whether he might have harbored a grudge against the C.I.A. arising from the agency's involvement in the 1980's in smuggling weapons into Afghanistan from Pakistani bases.

Robert F. Horan Jr., the chief prosecutor in Fairfax County, Va., where the shootings took place, described the region of Mr. Kansil's upbringing as "certainly interesting, in part because of its closeness to Afghanistan and different things that have gone on there in recent years." But, Mr. Horan hastened to add, "all of that is speculation."

Academic experts on Pakistan, while cautioning that they had no direct knowledge of the case, said they were skeptical that the attack might have

Pakistan pledges to help the F.B.I. track down a suspect.

been some kind of organized retribution. Some complained that the mere fact that a Pakistani was the suspect had been unfairly seized upon by some people as evidence that the shootings were a terrorist attack.

'Kooks and Crazies'

"Why aren't we Muslims entitled to our own share of kooks and crazies?" protested As'ad AbuKhalil, a resident scholar at the Middle East Institute in Washington.

But the experts also said that the covert border operations by the C.I.A. and Pakistani intelligence agents during the Afghan war had left hostility among residents of the region. Some who assisted in the gunrunning were angered after the war to find that the flow of weapons they claimed as their bounty was being cut off.

"While serving the cause of Allah in the Jihad, they were also able to serve the cause of Mammon here and there" by selling some of the weapons, said Iqbal Ahmad, a professor of politics and Mideast studies at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass. "When the Pakistanis and the Americans turned on the people, there was a sense of betrayal."

THE NEW YORK TIMES

FEBRUARY 12, 1993

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

"Tajik Political Legitimacy & Political Parties" by Eden Naby in *CENTRAL ASIA MONITOR*, #5, 1992. The Central Asia Monitor, a bi-monthly magazine, is available from RR 2, Box 6880, Fair Haven, VT 05743, for \$60/year. All 6 issues of 1992 are still available for \$60 (institutional - \$96.) or \$16 per issue. The Monitor welcomes unsolicited articles from qualified authors on Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan & Turkmenistan.

"Political Elites in Afghanistan: Rentier State Building, Rentier State Wrecking" by Barnett Rubin in *INT'L JOURNAL OF MIDDLE EAST STUDIES*, Vol. 24, #1, February 1992.

"Restructuring in Greater Central Asia, Changing Political Configurations" by Robert L. Canfield in *ASIAN SURVEY*, Vol. XXXII, #10, October 1992.

"On the Modern Literature of Afghanistan," Part I, by Ali O. Esfahani in *IRANSHENASI*, the Journal of Iranian Studies, Vol. IV, #1, Spring 1992.

Parts III, IV & V of the 13th REPORT OF THE AGRICULTURAL SURVEY OF AFGHANISTAN, The Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, October 1992. The reports contain Repatriation & Rehabilitation Surveys for Kandahar, Central Nangarhar & Western Paktia respectively.

The next issue of the *AFGHANISTAN STUDIES JOURNAL*, edited by Grant Farr, will contain articles by Senzil Nawid, Kathleen Collins Beyer, Stafford Hemmer, Allen Merriam, S.M. Reshtia & Ludwig Adamec. Subscriptions for the Journal are \$9/yr. Checks should be sent to the Center for Afghanistan Studies, Omaha, NE 68182-0006. The issue should be out in March.

"Afghanistan: Towards Rebuilding A Shattered Country," the *AFGHANAID REPORT* for 1991/92. Copies can be had from *AFGHANAID*, 292 Pentonville Road, London N1 9NR.

The quarterly Newsletter of ARIN, Afghan Refugee Information Network, 18 Burstock Road, London SW15 2PW, UK, is available for £10./year. The Newsletter carries original material

obtained from people who have recently visited the area as well as digest of facts & figures from official sources, book summaries & reviews & background articles.

Now in paperback: (NYT 1/31)

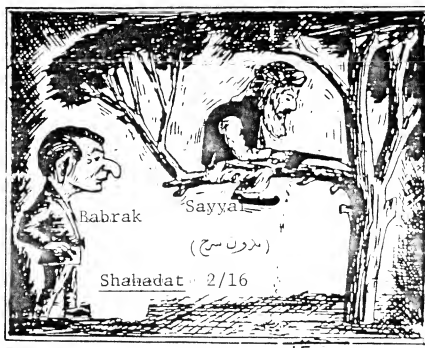
MEANS OF ESCAPE, by Philip Caputo. (Harper Perennial, \$12.) Admittedly drawing on imagination as well as memory, a reporter and foreign correspondent recalls his life, especially the years he spent covering wars in Vietnam, the Middle East and Afghanistan. In 1991 our reviewer, Morley Safer, objected to the fictionalization of details, but said that "there are some good yarns to be told, and Mr. Caputo has a fine voice for telling them."

JUSUR: The UCLA Journal of Middle Eastern Studies is seeking feature-length articles, book reviews, and reviews of documentary or scholarly films about the Middle East. *JUSUR* is jointly sponsored by the Center for Near Eastern Studies and the Graduate Students' Association of UCLA. It was created to fill the need for a multidisciplinary forum in Middle Eastern Studies specifically devoted to promoting the publication of original research by scholars at the beginning of their careers. Contributions should be typed double-spaced and sent to: Editor-in-Chief, *JUSUR*, Von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California 90024-1480.

Center for Middle Eastern and North African Studies Newsletter

January-February 1993

From the publications section of the Central Asian Studies Unit of the Islamic Foundation, 62 Evington Valley Road, Leicester LE5 5LJ, UK: **MUSLIMS IN CENTRAL ASIA & RUSSIA** by M. Iqbal Khan & **ISLAMIZATION OF CENTRAL ASIA** by Diloram Ibrahim. The author uses Uzbekistan as a case study.



BOOK REVIEW

The Bear Trap: Afghanistan's untold story
by **Mohammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin**
Leo Cooper, London 1992, £18.50

The Bear Trap offers an in-depth look at the role of foreign nations in supporting the Afghan resistance's struggle to oust Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Yousaf, who headed the Afghan bureau of the Pakistan Intelligence Service (ISI) from 1983 to 1987, was charged with organising and supporting the Mujahedin war effort. He knows perhaps better than any single person the dynamics of the war in Afghanistan during these years.

The book is valuable not so much for its revelations on what happened during the war but for explaining the motives behind political and military initiatives taken by Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq, ISI director Akhtar Abdul Rehman Khan (Yousaf's immediate boss), Afghan resistance leaders, American politicians and CIA officials, and Yousaf himself.

Yousaf, then the commander of an infantry brigade, was summoned by Akhtar in October 1983. Like many of his colleagues in the military, he doubted the USSR could be pushed out of Afghanistan, and feared that supporting the Mujahedin would only provoke direct retaliation from the Soviet Union on the Mujahedin's life-line - Pakistan. Several weeks after joining the ISI, however, Yousaf had a change of heart, and formulated a long-term strategy of "death by a thousand cuts" to secure the withdrawal of some 85,000 Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Yousaf and Akhtar were confident that the Afghan regime in Kabul would then collapse with little resistance.

Yousaf's "thousand cuts" policy soon turned into a strategy of inflicting gaping wounds on the Soviet army. At the suggestion of CIA Director William Casey, Yousaf initiated a series of successful Mujahedin attacks inside Soviet territory beginning in 1984, followed two years later by what Yousaf sees as the key to the Mujahedin's success - the introduction of the *Stinger* anti-aircraft missile.

Yousaf looked at the Afghan war from a strictly military point of view: he was not concerned with politics. He was inevitably

disappointed when some key operations were cancelled by President Zia, such as the cross-border attacks inside the Soviet Union. Zia insisted that "the war in Afghanistan must boil at the right temperature". This meant that enough pressure should be applied to the Soviets to keep them from entrenching themselves too firmly in Afghanistan, but not so much as to push them to retaliate with air attacks or sabotage inside Pakistan.

Yousaf considered US and Arab supporters outsiders and was unimpressed by US officials' obsession with "burning the Soviets" to get back for their failure in Vietnam. He portrays himself as a mediator between the Mujahedin and these outsiders, whom he saw as attempting to turn the Afghan "jihad" into a proxy war for their own interests. Yousaf also explains a major divergence in interests between Pakistan and the US as Soviet troops were finally withdrawn in 1988-89, and how he believes the US deliberately prevented a total Mujahedin victory for fear of "Islamic fundamentalism" taking power in Kabul.

Although Yousaf and Adkin describe how some individuals pushed unsuitable weapons systems on the Mujahedin to collect commissions, they gloss over widespread accusations of corruption and drug-smuggling directed at both the Mujahedin and their military sponsors. Yousaf writes that as far as he knows, the pipeline was water-tight from the time the weapons arrived in Pakistan to the time they were distributed to rebel commanders.

The Bear Trap is a unique inside view of what was probably the largest US covert operation since the second world war. The popularity in Europe and the US of support for the Mujahedin discouraged serious enquiry into how it was done. Yousaf and Adkin shed valuable light on the delicate balance Pakistan attempted to maintain between the Mujahedin, their supporters, and the Soviet Union for more than a decade.

Middle East Int'l 11/20/92

Charles Hoots



Yurt Band: Teke, Turkmen...

Afghan arts & craft show

By Shaistah Sabri

Islamabad. A 3-day fund raising festival of Afghan arts and crafts was inaugurated at the Studio Gandhara by Mr Hans Von Sponeck Resident Representative of UNDP.

Studio Gandhara a school of visual and performing arts, now entering into its third year has organised a fund raising activity to create a cell within Studio Gandhara to promote talented young Afghans.

The 3-day festival offers display and sale of Turkmen Baluchi, carpets and kilms, suzami embroidery, Afghan jewellery and semi precious gem stones, miniature paintings, oil painting and

water colours.

On the last day of festival part of the total sale proceeds shall go to the Afghan fund. This fund has been specifically created to impart training and education to talented Afghan girls and boys.

Studio Gandhara is offering 4-year courses in fine arts and design, for which the administration has approached the relevant authorities for grant of a degree awarding status. The short term courses are offered in painting, textile, photography, computer graphics, sculpture, ceramics printmaking and music.

By the number of cars parked outside the premises and the hustle bustle witnessed inside, it seemed that the event has been a

success. No doubt the sale proceeds are to go for a noble cause the prices of items displayed were neither very attractive nor tempting. The organisers ought to take note of it.

The arrangements made for the music concert also seemed inadequate. It may be for the reason that the organisers did not expect such an overwhelming response. In addition to few other people, the scribe also had to make do standing in the doorway. This discomfort was partially offset by the display of good music. The seating arrangement was a sit-down affair which definitely was very appropriate.

On 2nd and 3rd days of the festival, there was a live band from 11

to 8.30 p.m. Afghan Bar-B-Que remained open all days. A workshop on miniature painting and a lecture on mystic and Sufism was held on Feb. 19 and 20.

It was felt that more attention should have been given to the food section, in terms of variety and better service arrangements. Most important during the evening, the back lawn where the food stalls were located, were not sufficiently lighted. Had the venue sufficiently been lit up, it would have created a more festive atmosphere and mood, prompting people to stay long enough and be tempted to take a bite.

PT 2/21

NAWROZI: THE JUBILEE OF OUR ANCESTORS

As a glorious legacy of the Arian civilizations, Nawroz (New Year's day) has been celebrated by the Afghans, the heirs of ancient Khurasan, Iraniana, Indians and peoples of the Central Asian Republics for centuries albeit in different patterns in accordance with the concerned traditions and social considerations.

The Arians, considered well-bred, valorous and of rich culture, would celebrate their victory over an enemy or to reap the harvest of their hard work and other occasions throughout the year, (e.g.) the jubilee of Mehrgan (beginning of the winter), festival of Sada or Nawroz Jashn-e-Baz 29th of Hamal Ordibeheshtan (third of Saur). On these occasions, the people play various games, dances, exchange gifts and assist those in need.

Avesta and Veda, the ancient texts of the Arian civilization, have recorded the Nawroz jubilee as Yama and Yoma while some available texts of that period have attributed the celebration of this day to Jamshid the first ruler of Peshdadi. However, the two texts have called Jamshid as the athlete of Arian tribe and his story is somehow the same in the both texts.

Avesta has given two distinct seasons: Hama: summer season of 30 days for each month and Zeyana, winter season of five months and five days. However, four distinctive seasons of the year have been referred to in the records belonging to Pahlavi's period.

The first day of the year was marked with glory and joy in Balkh by the Kings of Arians and it is still celebrated in distinct ways by varying tribes and nationalities of the country.

The first day of the year

is marked as a homage to the clean soul of the forefathers. Our ancestors who were threatened by the natural calamities and the like would pay tribute to the soul of the death and would give alms and atonements, believing that they would remove the wrongdoings.

This belief does obtain in many religions and traditions in the world.

According to Avesta the Ferors come to lamentation and groan on the first days of the year and spend the first ten days in their native places and that is probably due to this very fact that the first day of the year is named as farwardin which is one of the six festivities of the ancient Arians.

The Sasanids would also celebrate gloriously the first day of the new year and would pay high reverence to this day and the calendar of the year started from this day onward. Various available texts of the time attest to this fact.

After the spread of the sacred religion of Islam, the first day of the new year was also marked as the Abassid caliphs especially the Barmaks of Balkh would mark this day as a national jubilee and would give alms to different strata of the people. The Arab poets have also recited poems in appraisal of the new year, say, Hama Asfahani who lived in the third century HS has a collection of poems entitled "Feantroz Walmehe rjan" where one would view numerous poems in acclamation of the new year.

During the reign of Motawakal Abassid and Motamidbilla some steps were taken to improve upon the calendar of the new year. Bakhtari and Ali bin Yahya, astronomers by profession have also recited poems in appreciation of the new year.

During the reign of Muslim rulers especially during the time of the dynasties of Ghaznavid, Saljukians and Timurides of Herat, this day

was celebrated as the national festival of Iranam. Jashne Sada, Jashne Samiran and alike and still this very tradition exists in some regions of the country.

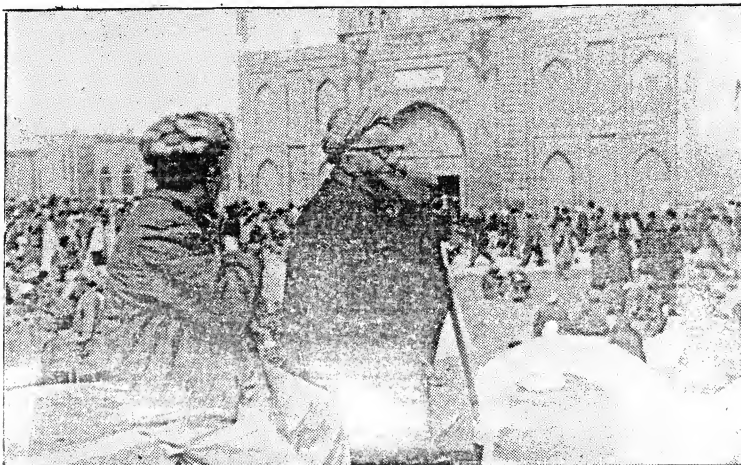
But what prompted the people to celebrate the new year more gloriously coincides with the Caliphate of Hazrat Ali (peace be upon him) the fourth Caliph of Islam. This day is celebrated in our country with the beginning of the red Rose Festivity and hoisting of the holy standard of Sakhi. The festival continues for 40 days.

On this day, Afghans come from every nook and corner of the country to Mazarisharif. Let's hope that with the interceding of Hazrat Ali (peace be upon him), God the Almighty, may turn the new spring as the year of prosperity and wellbeing, ushering an era of peace for the war-weary people of Afghanistan.

(Nalik Seyar)

MARCH 19, 1992

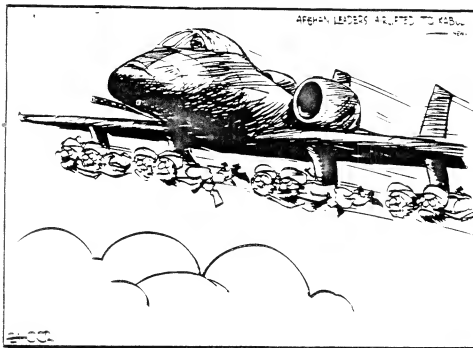
THE KABUL TIMES



Pilgrims to the Shrine of Hazrat-e-Ali.

CHRONOLOGY

12/20/92 - Frontier Post:



1/1/93 - PT - Gulbuddin termed Rabbani's election as President of Afghanistan as an "open declaration of war," according to BBC.

1/6 - Reuters - Afghan guerrilla parties said they would obey orders to shut their offices in Pakistan. The order, issued yesterday by the NWFP gov't, said mujahideen parties & unregistered NGOs dealing with Afghan refugees in Pakistan must shut & their staffs must leave Pakistan by 1/31. The order also directed printing presses run by the Afghan parties to close by 1/31 & forbade Pakistani presses to print Afghan publications. Pakistan plans also to deport all illegal immigrants - a move that will hit thousands of Arabs who fought for the mujahideen.

1/7 - PT - Pakistan's decision to eject all illegal aliens does not apply to Afghan refugees. As to NGOs, a Foreign Office spokesman said that all those operating illegally would have to leave regardless of their nationalities. Different deadlines have been set up for their departures.

1/11 - Reuters - A 205-member interim parliament was selected from the members of last month's assembly. The group will have to approve Rabbani's cabinet which, according to the dispatch, has yet to be named. Some sources said Rabbani might appoint Syed Ahmad Gailani

as prime minister (see 1/15). The parliament is scheduled to meet on 1/25. Its immediate task will be to design an interim constitution.

- Rabbani's Gov't & Hezb-i-Islami have agreed to a temporary truce, although no formal statement was available. Hezb has threatened to close Kabul airport if the Gov't does not release imprisoned Hezb members. A "peace mission," led by Ayatollah Mohseni, is trying to arrange a meeting between all mujahideen leaders to discuss the prisoner situation.

1/13 - PT - The Afghan Foreign Ministry welcomed the Pakistani decision to put an end to the activities of Afghan groups in Pakistan (see 1/6). [Sources tell us that Gulbuddin's Hezb offices were expected. Ed.]

- Instead of returning home, some Afghan refugees have fled to Sindh & Punjab, reportedly "in possession of fictitious ration cards."

1/15 - PT - Gailani said he was ready to accept the post of prime minister of Afghanistan if his two conditions were met by the present Gov't. The conditions are (1) a general consensus among mujahideen leaders & (2) a balance of power between the prime minister & the president. The prime minister should be empowered to form the cabinet.

1/17 - Reuters - Kabul Mayor Fazal Karim said that some 600,000 people have left Kabul since April because of the factional fighting & difficult living conditions. He doesn't expect them back until spring.

- The first civilian planes arrived at Kabul airport after a 10-day hiatus due to the Hezb threat to shoot down all aircraft using the airport unless certain prisoners were released. (See 1/22)

1/18 - NYT - Dissident Muslim guerrillas tried to shoot down two civilian jetliners as they took off from Kabul's airport today, firing rockets at them, the Government said.

A Defense Ministry official said that as many as 30 rockets fell around the joint military-civilian airport as the state-owned Ariana Airlines planes departed safely for Peshawar, Pakistan, and New Delhi.

1/19 - PT - Because of the fighting, about 68,000 new Afghan refugees have come to Pakistan.

1/21 - PT - Afghanistan asked the UN for aid for some 90,000 Tajik refugees who have fled to Afghanistan. (See p. 21)
- UN Sources - The Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for Emergency Humanitarian Assistance for Afghanistan is seeking \$138.1m for the period between January & September 1993. The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance for Afghanistan (UNOCHA) has succeeded UNOCA as the coordinating mechanism for the aid & will be headquartered in Kabul as soon as security conditions permit.

1/22 - NYT - At least 300 people have been wounded in 3 days of fighting which erupted after the Gov't opened an offensive against Hezb-i-Islami. The Gov't attack was to forestall plans by Hezb to attack Kabul 1/19, the deadline given by Gulbuddin for the release of Hezb-i-Islami prisoners.

1/23 - PT - Afghan refugees in Iran may be being repatriated against their will. Iran denies this but many refugees in Herat told UN officials that they had been rounded up & forced out of Iran without documents or money. The military commander of Herat has expressed concern over the possibility of a large influx of destitute refugees. (See 2/20.)

1/24 - PT - Saudi Arabia's King Fahd urged Afghan leaders to stop fighting "for power & worldly gains." He invited them to Arabia to engage in a dialogue to settle their disputes.

1/26 - PT - Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif welcomed King Fahd's initiative & called for an immediate ceasefire in order to create an atmosphere as a prelude to the negotiations proposed by Saudi Arabia.

1/27 - PT - The head of Pakistan's Jamaat-e-Islami party appealed to Rabbani & Gulbuddin to announce a ceasefire & negotiate. However, he said the proposal to go outside Afghanistan for peace talks was not practical. [The Qazi went to Kabul, see p. 31]

1/27 - Reuters - The only Western diplomat in Kabul, Italian charge d'affaires Masimo Perujini, left because his Embassy was uninhabitable after being hit by a rocket. The Iranian Embassy was hit twice in a week; 3 of its staff members went home, leaving about 20 still working in the largest of 9 foreign missions in Kabul.

1/28 - PT - The Hezb-i-Islami demands for peace:

KABUL, Jan. 28: Hezb-i-Afghanistan has urged for the resolution of Afghan crisis, urgent end to war, restoration of durable peace, return of peace and security, realisations of the free will of the people, ensuring territorial integrity of the country, prevention of dismemberment of the country and state armed rivalry, ensuring due rights of all sects in the society and elimination of indiscrimination and has proposed a permanent ceasefire after the following demands are met.

The parties after mutual consultation should form an interim govt for six months. Member of the interim cabinet wont be entitled to participate in the elections for an elected Parliament and govt.



An authoritative Election Commission should be formed for holding election in the next six months. No agency will have the right to interfere in the work of the commission. The determination of voters should be made by demarcation of constituencies, screening of the candidates should be the prerogative of the Election Commission and at the end of six months this Commission will supervise the elections.

Each constituency will have local Shura comprising commanders, ulema and elders of tribes, which would be formed without the interference of the central govt.

Members of the local Shura should revive local administrations and elect the heads of these departments from among its members. They would elect two members from their ranks to the provincial and central Shuras. These two members will be representing the people of any particular constituency at the level of province and at the level of the whole country.

The Shura heads of administrative units in each province will be reviving a sound and functioning administration in each province and will also be appointing a governor for each province. The central Shura comprising representatives from each district will be performing the following duties during the interim period.

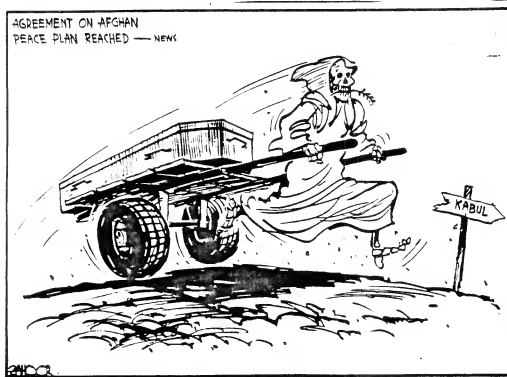
Drafting of constitution.
Supervising the performance of interim govt. - PPI.

1/30 - PT - Germany & Italy closed their Kabul Embassies as a result of continued fighting.

- Reuters - The Kabul Intercontinental is under machine gun fire from Hezb-i-Wahdat which accuses the Gov't of using the hotel as a base for its troops to fire on Hezb-i-Wahdat.

2/1 - Reuters - The UN called on Afghanistan to arrest the perpetrators of the murders of UN workers near Jalalabad last week (see 2/4 & p.11).
 - The new parliament is expected to meet in a few days. Its first task will be to elect a prime minister.
 - A peace accord, brokered by Pakistani & Saudi Ambassadors, was put forth in Jalalabad. It called for a revival of a leadership council representing 9 major mujahideen parties, a ceasefire & elections within a year. A Defense Ministry spokesman said, "Since heavy artillery is still in the hands of Hezb-i-Islami, any ceasefire would not be in the interests of the people of Kabul." Masood dismissed the peace formula: "We don't support a short-term ceasefire; we want a long-term ceasefire that will uphold the dignity & honor of Afghans."

2/2 - Frontier Post -



2/4 - LAT -

The United Nations said it had withdrawn staff members from the eastern city of Jalalabad and Kandahar in the south and suspended road travel a day after gunmen ambushed and killed three U.N. employees and a Dutch consultant.

Deputy Foreign Minister Najibullah Lafrai, in a message to U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, said: "I honestly tell you that the terrorists will be arrested and punished for their crimes."

He blamed Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, fundamentalist leader of the rebel Hezb-i-Islami party, for the killings and for the rocket attacks on Kabul that went into their 16th day Wednesday.

Guerrillas were firing from positions in the abandoned Polish Embassy and the Russian Embassy's cultural center, and the army retaliated from hilltop positions, the radio said.

2/4 - PT - Pakistani Prime Minister Sharif & King Fahd of Saudi Arabia appealed yesterday to all Afghan groups to "stop fighting & resolve their differences through peaceful, political negotiations."
 - About a dozen Pakistanis were evacuated from the Pakistan Embassy in Kabul because of the fighting.

2/6 - PT - The UN will provide \$2.76m worth of food aid for 60,000 Tajik refugees in Afghanistan. (See p. 8.)

2/9 - PT - Pakistan, Iran & Saudi Arabia plan to meet to discuss ways of halting the bloodshed in Afghanistan. Iran, for the first time, would accept a Saudi initiative to end the fighting. However, no details were given.
 - Ayatullah Mohseni, leader of Afghanistan's Harakat-i-Islami party, is trying to mediate in Kabul. He has asked Kabul citizens to "show resistance" against the continuation of the bloodshed.

2/10 - WP - A car bomb exploded yesterday on a road near Gardez, killing provincial Gov. Nasrullah Mansouri, leader of the Islamic Revolutionary Party, an aide & 3 bodyguards. The Turkish Embassy in Kabul closed yesterday; India shut its mission 4 days ago. The Turkish charge d'affaires said, "It's the first time the Turkish Embassy here has ever been closed. We didn't leave in 1989 & 1990 when other embassies evacuated their staffs &, in my opinion, we waited a long time before leaving this year."
 - PT - The Pakistan Gov't will give all possible medical & technical aid to Afghanistan in the reconstruction of the health sector. The Pakistan Health Minister told the Afghan Amb. in Islamabad that Pakistan will send needed medicines & even doctors & paramedics.

- Reuters - Retired Pakistani Gen. Hamid Gul met with Rabbani in Kabul & plans meetings with Masood & Gulbuddin. He said the Afghans must resolve their problems by talks, not war.
 - Gen. Dostum has refused to take sides: "We have never supported any side in the current fighting in Kabul & we will not do so in

the future," Dostum's deputy said. Rabbani offered Dostum the post of deputy defense minister, but Dostum set 3 conditions: peace in the capital; a coalition of all the mujahideen forces; the setting up of an Islamic army.

2/11 - Reuters - The Gov't launched an offensive against Hezb-i-Wahdat headquarters in a western suburb of Kabul. Hezb-i-Wahdat now seems to be allied with Hezb-i-Islami. Fighting has been heavy for the last 24 days, with hundreds killed & over 4,000 injured. - The Chinese Embassy staff left Kabul for Pakistan.



Gen. Abdul Rashid Doestam, a rival of the Government who heads the strongest military force in Afghanistan.

2/13 - NYT - The US State Dept. issued a warning against traveling to Afghanistan, saying US citizens & other Westerners were vulnerable to robbery, kidnapping & hostage taking for political & criminal purposes.

2/20 - PT - Iran plans to send home some 300,000 Afghan refugees who lack proper identification papers. A law passed several years ago required Afghan refugees to apply for identity cards but many did not, according to the Governor of Iran's Khorassan Prov. Iran estimates that some 400,000 Afghans have returned from Iran since last April.

- Israel Radio reported that Rabbani plans to visit the US in early March to meet with President Clinton.

- The Economist reports that North Koreans have been meeting with Gen. Dostam in Mazar-i-Sharif (see p. 20).

2/21 - LAT - Rabbani's Gov't said yesterday that the cause of a helicopter crash last Wednesday that killed 30 people was overloading & not rebel gunfire. The Soviet-made chopper crashed in Badakhshan Prov. south of Faisabad, an area controlled

by Hezb-i-Islami.

Government officials said the Mi-8 helicopter crashed because it was overloaded and poorly maintained. Afghan military sources said this type of helicopter should carry no more than 20 people at high altitudes.

Initially, the government suspected the helicopter might have been shot down by Hezb-i-Islami forces.

The victims included the governor of Badakhshan, Ghulam Mohammed Arianpur, and Abdul Rahman Saif, the chief justice of the Afghan supreme court. Saif was also Rabbani's cousin.

2/21 - PT - Fighting broke a week-long truce between the Gov't & Hezb-i-Wahdat. Gen Dostum distributed leaflets throughout Kabul deploring the fighting. "We must not allow foreign forces to use Afghanistan for their own interests. The time has come to settle our problems & differences through dialogue." The Rabbani Gov't is leery of Dostum who visited Pakistan last week & consulted with various "prominent figures." He got his visa in

Mazar-i-Sharif. The same article said that Younis Khalis was in Pakistan on a "save Rabbani" mission.

2/23 - Reuters - Rabbani announced an extension of a fragile ceasefire in Kabul for Ramadan. He appealed to Hezb-i-Wahdat & Hezb-i-Islami to respect the month of fasting & hold their fire. A spokesman for Rabbani said the terms put forward by Hezb-i-Islami (see 1/28) were "negotiable," but gave no specifics. Interior Minister Ahmad Shah said Hekmatyar should end his party's blockade of the roads to Kabul & hand over its heavy weapons to an authorized commission under int'l guarantees. "If Hezb-i-Islami meets these conditions they will be included in the Gov't," he said. Shah added that the fierce fighting in Kabul over the last month had prevented Rabbani from naming a cabinet & a prime minister.

- UNHCR said more refugees are coming into Pakistan than are returning home under the UN repatriation plan. A spokesman said, "This is a major blow to us because it looks like things are not going to go well." From 2/4 - 2/14 the UNHCR registered 6,758 refugees coming into Pakistan; only 1,400 went home. Since the repatriation program

began in early 1992, some 1.5m Afghans returned home from Iran & Pakistan. Based on that the UN had hoped then another 2m would return this year.

- Afghan refugees attacked the Afghan Embassy in Tehran, denouncing the Kabul Gov't's alleged killing & rape of Shi'ite Muslims. They also marched on the UN bureau in Tehran, calling for the removal of Rabbani & the establishment of a special court to try the culprits. "Sayyaf, Masood & Rabbani form a Satanic triangle," they shouted. Iran has generally supported Rabbani but last week an Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman denounced Sayyaf's forces for attacks against Kabul citizens.

2/26 - Al Hayat - Gulbuddin said in a telephone interview with this Arabic newspaper that he would not countenance any peace settlement brokered by foreigners, especially the UN or US. He might be willing to go to Pakistan because they have "showed sincerity." He denied having any alliance with the Hezb-i-Wahdat. He said he had "news & evidence" that the Americans have sent commandos to Pakistan for eventual deployment in Afghanistan to kill him. He claims he is not an aggressor but a victim & what he is doing is justified because Islam justifies defending one's self. He repeated his call for the stepping down of Rabbani, the establishment of an interim gov't & the holding of elections within one year. [Translated by AHT]

3/2 - Reuters - Leaders of the main mujahideen parties met in Islamabad for the first Pakistan-sponsored peace talks. Rabbani did not attend the 1st sessions but joined the other leaders for sunset prayers & dinner. Gulbuddin said he would not meet with Rabbani as President but only as head of the Jamiat-i-Islami party. Saudi Arabia's intelligence chief & Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister observed the talks. Under the Pakistani formula, Hezb-i-Islami will hold

the prime ministry & the 6 top ministerial portfolios will be allocated by the party. Rabbani would step down in 4 months, allowing time for a 20-member commission to organize a new assembly of nationwide delegates to select a new head of state (see 3/3).

3/3 - Reuters - Russia claims that Afghanistan is still holding about 80 former Soviet prisoners of war. Russia says it will not give Afghanistan any aid until the prisoners are freed. According to Kabul, fewer than 20 are still being held & some have chosen to remain in Afghanistan, including one who is now a bodyguard for Masood.

- Gulbuddin & Rabbani shook hands after agreeing on a formula that would allow them to share power. Rabbani will remain President for 18 months.

3/4 - NYT - In announcing the power-sharing agreement, Mr. Sharif said "all sides have shown flexibility" in the talks. President Rabbani, who had been scheduled to return to Kabul on Wednesday, extended his visit another day in hopes the agreement could be signed by all factions before he leaves, said the President's spokesman, Mohammed Aziz Murad.

Mr. Murad said that under the power-sharing agreement, Mr. Rabbani would remain as president and Mr. Heikmatyar would serve as prime minister. The agreement still must be ratified by leaders of all 10 Muslim groups that ousted the Communists after a 14-year civil war. Mr. Heikmatyar, who is believed to have influence over the smaller factions, was not immediately available for comment.

The Afghan leaders agreed Tuesday to a cease-fire but refused to say when or how it would be implemented. They also agreed to withdraw their heavy weapons out of range of Kabul and put them under the control of a central military command.

Gulbuddin & Rabbani with Navaz Sharif



London - Thursday - 4 March 1993

From a REUTERS report by Suzy Price, 1/17/93:

Doctors in Kabul have warned that Afghan children may not survive the winter in a capital that is virtually without electricity & where food prices are soaring. "I think it is inevitable that some children will die of malnutrition this winter," said Dr. Leena Kaartinen, a worker at the Mother & Baby Clinic in Kabul under the auspices of the US-based Int'l Assistance Commission. She added that many children are living on nothing but bread & tea.

Afghan hospital doctors said they had been forced to close most wards because there was no electricity to heat them. At the city's children's hospital, president Jan Moh'd said only 100 of the 400 beds were in use because they were in wards reached by the sun - usually the hospital's only source of heat. "We are desperately short of medicines, bandages & dressings," he said. "We get no help from anywhere."

Most of the city's hospitals have been closed since blistering exchanges of rockets & artillery fire between rival mujahideen factions damaged every medical facility in Kabul. Kaartinen said, "The malnutrition is worse than ever. Food is very expensive & gov't employees haven't been paid for 3 months."

From a REUTERS report by David McDonald in Mazar-i-Sharif, 1/17/93:

In the bleak deserts of northern Afghanistan, the UN is vying with rival mujahideen leaders & former Communists to help the world's newest flood of refugees. Between 40,000 & 50,000 people have fled from the former Soviet Republic of Tajikistan across the Amu River into Afghanistan to escape bloody fighting.

Telling tales of atrocities, thousands of families have braved the icy waters of the Amu & now huddle in tent cities & underground bunkers against the bitter winds that whistle across the Afghan deserts. "The Communists looted our home, they even took our children's clothes. They burnt our houses & stole our car," said Huse Gul, 31, who fled to Afghanistan with her 5 children & was living in a camp in Tashqurgan. Her husband, a gas station attendant, stayed behind to help other refugees, she said.

The UN High Commission for Refugees - more accustomed to caring for fugitives from Afghanistan than those fleeing to the country - is setting up camps for the refugees. The main one for an initial 10,000 people is being literally dug out of the gravel some 37 miles south of the border; two smaller ones are being set up in Tashqurgan. The UNHCR hopes to shelter most refugees at these three sites, But Afghan mujahideen leaders in Kunduz, which is controlled by dozens of rival chiefs, have not been slow to take advantage of the situation. A recent internal UN report mentions "attempts (successful so far) by mujahideen commanders in Kunduz/Tashqurgan to carve out shares of refugees for themselves for multiple purposes including political/military influence & attracting UN assistance."

The commanders from Kunduz have been sending trucks to collect refugees from the border, competing with the helicopters of northern Afghanistan's strongman Gen. Rashid Dostum, who operates out of Mazar-i-Sharif. "Some Tajik leaders are in contact with mujahideen leaders, particularly in Kunduz...& they've organized together the evacuation of refugees to certain places," said local UNHCR chief Philippe Labreuve. "That leads to the dispersal of refugees, which makes it very difficult to come to their assistance." He added that the commanders see the refugees as a source of UN assistance for their zones of control. UNHCR officials also say the commanders regard the refugees as a pool of manpower to launch a new "holy war" into Tajikistan.

Many refugees are happy to go to Kunduz where many of the population are ethnic Tajiks & they feel more at home. But UN officials say there are problems. There have been several reports of refugees being picked up by trucks, robbed & dumped in the deserts. One truck flipped over last month en route to Kunduz, killing 27 refugees.

UN officials said that refugees entering the 3 main camps will be disarmed to try to stop Afghanistan from being used as a base for raids into Tajikistan. Generals loyal to Dostum have said that mujahideen have joined the refugees to fight in Tajikistan. Dostum has provided strong support for the UN relief efforts. UN officials say Dostum may be helping because he is loath to risk his new friendship with Uzbekistan, which has helped the former Communists in Tajikistan to regain power. The officials say Dostum wants to get the refugees into camps away from the border to prevent raids against the ex-Communists across the Amu River.

In the desert camp, the refugees hack underground bunkers out of the sand to protect them from the freezing winds & rain. Thousands of Mongolian tents flown in from Turkey, Pakistan & Uzbekistan proved inadequate. For many families the holes in the ground are their first permanent shelter for months. Many said they had left their homes two or three months before & made their way slowly to the border.

For more on this situation,
see pps. 21-23.

From a REUTERS report by Suzy Price, 2/17/93:

Islamic guerrillas Monday took advantage of a tottering cease-fire marking the 4th anniversary of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan to loot the homes of Kabul residents. In the shell-shattered western suburb of Afshawr, gov't mujahideen fighters picked through deserted homes & stores & carried away refrigerators, carpets & blankets.

The rumble of rockets & artillery shook the area in the morning & machinegun fire erupted around the abandoned Russian Embassy in the south, despite a cease-fire announced by the Islamic Gov't and its radical Hezb-i-Islami opponents. Pakistani negotiator, retired Lt. Gen. Hamid Gul, shuttled between President Burhannuddin Rabbani & Hezb chief Gulbuddin Hekmatyar to try to transform Sunday's temporary cease-fire into a permanent truce...

In the west of Kabul, where the army has made substantial advances against the Shi'ite Hezb-i-Wahdat, now aligned with Hekmatyar, a gov't mujahideen fighter was leaving with an oil heater strapped to his back. "This is good looting," one smiling soldier said as he pushed a cart loaded with a refrigerator & several tables. One fighter grinned sheepishly when his companion said the carpet they were carrying "is not really ours." Another drove a van loaded with blankets out of the nearby state orphanage.

Residents fleeing the area told of robberies, looting & killings of Shi'ite residents by majority Sunni gov't troops. The guerrillas said they were retaliating for similar looting by Shi'ite mujahideen...

In the Social Sciences Institute, the former headquarters of Hezb-i-Wahdat leader Abdul Ali Mazari that was taken by the Gov't late last week, portraits of Ayatollah Khomeini had been slashed, bullets were scattered on the floor & mujahideen were rifling through medical supplies.

See also "Good Looting"
on p. 20.

AFGHANISTAN FORUM



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ABBREVIATIONS USED



| | |
|--------|---|
| ACBAR | - Agency Coordinating Bureau for Afghan Relief |
| ARIC | - ACBAR Resource & Information Centre |
| BIA | - Bakhtar Information Agency |
| CSM | - Christian Science Monitor |
| ICRC | - Int'l Committee of the Red Cross |
| KT | - Kabul Times |
| LAT | - Los Angeles Times |
| MEI | - Middle East Int'l |
| NGO | - Non-Governmental Organization |
| NWFP | - Northwest Frontier Province |
| NYT | - New York Times |
| OIC | - Organization of Islamic Conference |
| PCV | - Peace Corps Volunteer |
| PT | - Pakistan Times |
| PVO | - Private Voluntary Organization |
| UNGA | - United Nations General Assembly |
| UNOCA | - United Nations Office of the Commissioner for Afghanistan |
| UNOCHA | - United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Relief for Afghanistan |
| UNHCR | - United Nations High Commission for Refugees |
| WSJ | - Wall Street Journal |
| WP | - Washington Post |

Line drawings from the 1982 calendar of the Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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